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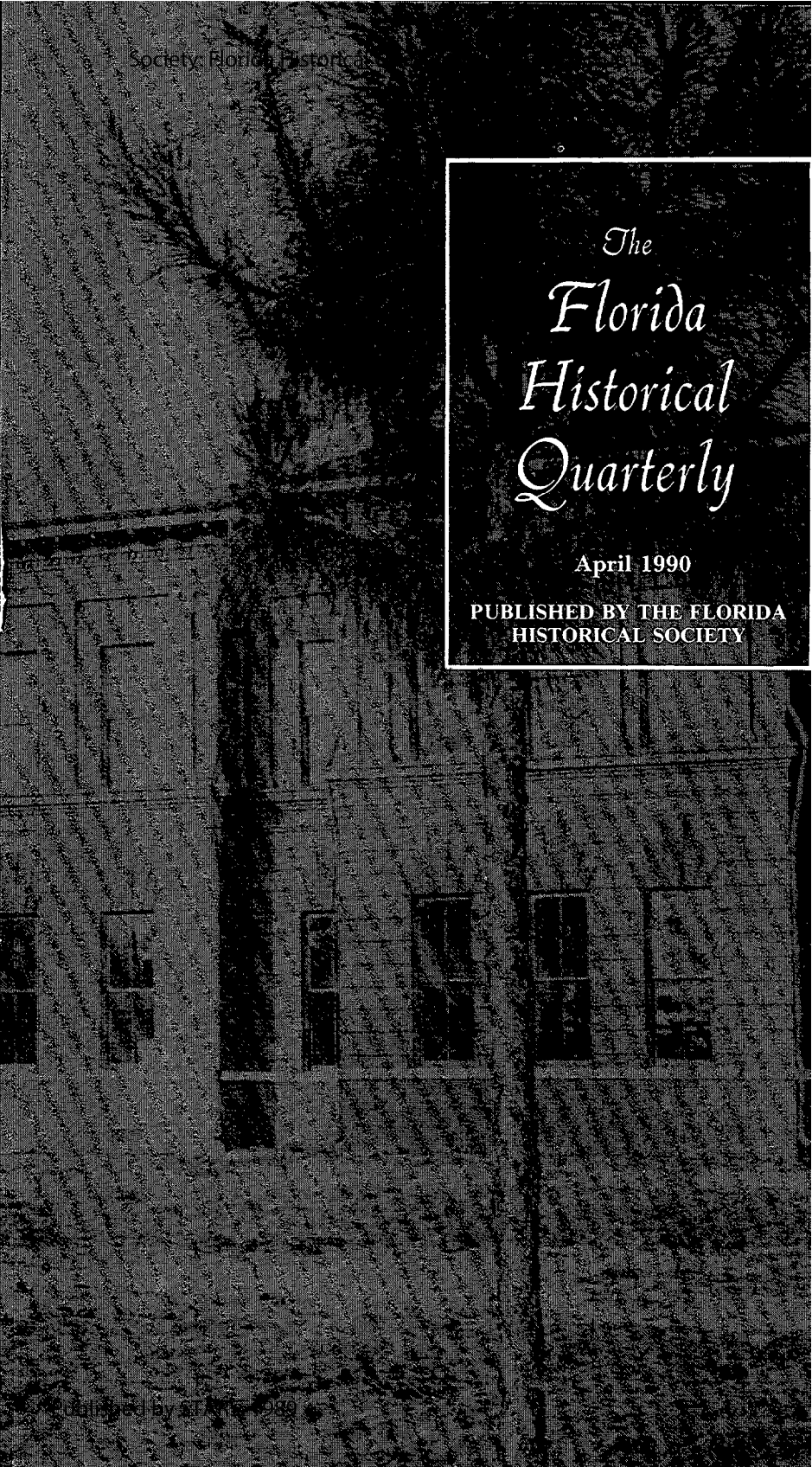

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COVER

The Gainesville Graded and High School, completed in 1900, contained twelve classrooms, a principal's office, and an auditorium. Located on East University Avenue, it was later named in honor of Confederate General Edmund Kirby Smith. *Photograph from the postcard collection of Dr. Mark V. Barrow, Gainesville.*

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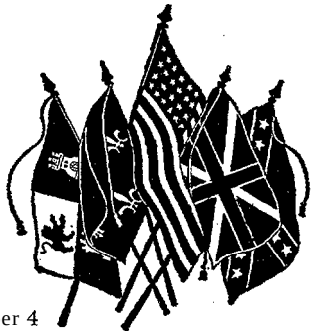

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BOOK REVIEWS

CRAMER V. KIRK: THE FLORIDA REPUBLICAN SCHISM OF 1970

by BILLY B. HATHORN

Having languished for nearly a century as a nominal political entity, Florida Republicans seemed poised by 1970 to establish parity, if not supplant, the Democrats as the Sunshine State's majority party. The groundwork for such a metamorphosis had been laid when Eisenhower and Nixon won Florida in four of the five presidential elections between 1952 and 1968. William Cato "Bill" Cramer was elected in 1954 as the state's first twentieth-century Republican Congressman, and Claude Roy Kirk, Jr., seized the governorship twelve years later amid the internecine bickering of Democratic factions. Moreover, Edward J. Gurney's 1968 United States Senate victory was the sole statewide Republican triumph that year outside the presidential contest in the eleven ex-Confederate states. In the crucial 1970 elections, the Republicans seemed poised to re-elect Kirk and win a second Senate seat with what the *New York Times* termed "inexorable strength and unlimited potential."[1] But the squabbling that previously crippled the Democrats now wreaked havoc on the fledgling GOP as the conflicting interests of five leading Republicans shook the party to its foundation: Congressman Cramer and his senatorial rival, former Judge G. Harrold Carswell; Governor Kirk and his primary foe, businessman Jack M. Eckerd; and Senator Gurney, whose potential soon deteriorated to the extent that he would retire from politics after a single term. It may be argued, however, that despite the 1970 losses, the GOP could have remained competitive in Florida had Kirk not undermined Cramer's Senate candidacy. This article examines how the Cramer-Kirk schism helped re-cement Democratic hegemony and delayed the establishment of a competitive two-party system in Florida.

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1. *New York Times,* September 30, 1970,

Cramer was born in Denver, Colorado, August 4, 1922, and moved with his parents to St. Petersburg where he would wage his first political campaigns in student government at St. Petersburg High School and Junior College. His roots were anchored in the Protestant "work ethic": as a teenager he sold fruit, flowers, and candy and worked as a grocery clerk and theater usher. Before entering college at the University of North Carolina, he was a bellhop at a North Carolina resort hotel. When Cramer sought public office, voters who remembered his active youth dubbed him "the orange boy."[2] After World War II service in Europe and subsequent graduation from the Harvard Law School, Cramer was admitted to the Florida bar. He became a Republican in 1949 when statewide registration was still fourteen-to-one Democratic. Among those nudging Cramer to Republicanism was his law partner, Herman Wilson Goldner, subsequently mayor of St. Petersburg.

Florida's geographic configuration and uneven population distribution has made it more difficult for Democratic factions to persist because urbanites have been unwilling to accept domination by a few party leaders. V. O. Key, Jr., described Florida elections in the years prior to the modern Republican emergence as "personality-oriented within narrow ideological boundaries." At first, the Republicans, largely migrants from the Midwest and North, challenged Democratic control in Pinellas County and other retiree centers. The migration of business executives and older citizens had drastically altered the partisan profile of the region. As early as 1928, Herbert Hoover helped carry Pinellas Republicans to victory in races for sheriff, judge, assessor, and state senator. In 1948, Republican Thomas E. Dewey won Pinellas, Sarasota, Palm Beach, Broward, and Orange counties, and a third of the statewide vote. Dissent against the national Democrats resumed between 1952 and 1972, though Lyndon Johnson carried both Florida and Pinellas County as part of his presidential victory. Jimmy Carter, be-

2. William Cramer, tape-recorded interview with author, Washington, DC, February 12, 1988; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington, DC, 1971), 796. Besides consenting to a twenty-three-page, single-spaced, typed interview with the author, Cramer has deposited his congressional papers with the Cramer Library, University of Tampa.

neficiary of an influx of blue-collar voters, almost won Pinellas County in 1976.[3]

Cramer ran for the legislature in 1950, and was campaign manager for the Pinellas Republican slate, none of whose fourteen members had previously sought office. The Republicans, decrying inefficient government and "boss-type" politics, organized at the grassroots and, at Cramer's insistence, offered a unified ticket, a procedure still followed in the county. All but one of the GOP candidates were elected. Cramer became "titular head" of the Pinellas GOP; in 1974, the State Executive Committee honored him as Florida's "Mr. Republican."[4]

In 1967, the *Tampa Tribune* humorously paraphrased Genesis to stress Cramer's role in the GOP: "In the beginning there was the party, and the party was with Bill Cramer, and the party was Bill Cramer."[5] When Cramer's two Republican colleagues named him minority leader in 1951, Democrats teased them for "caucusing in a phone booth." The Florida legislature operates under United States House rules, and Cramer's assertion of "minority rights" raised his visibility and influence. He defended junior colleges from challenges waged by the legislative leadership and the four-year institutions; Cramer considered such schools essential to low-cost education. He also worked to establish the state's first anti-crime commission, but the Democrats refused to name any Republicans to the panel.[6]

In 1952, Cramer ran for Congress in an "open" district against Democrat Courtney W. Campbell, a Clearwater businessman and former state highway board member. Spending $25,000 in a handshaking campaign about Pinellas, Hill-

3. Bruce A. Campbell, "Patterns of Change in the Partisan Loyalties of Native Southerners: 1952-1972," *Journal of Politics* 39 (August 1977), 736-37, 755, 761; Jack Bass and Walter DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequence Since 1945* (New York, 1976), 117; *New York Times,* September 11, 30, 1970; V.O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, 1949), 83-85, 281; David J. Ginzl, "The Politics of Patronage: Florida Republicans During the Hoover Administration," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 61 (July 1982), 5; *U.S. News and World Report,* November 12, 1954, 30; Alexander P. Lamis, *The Two-Party South* (New York, 1984), 181; Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa and Douglas Matthews, *The Almanac of American Politics* (New York, 1979), 182-83.
4. Cramer interview; *U.S. News and World Report,* November 12, 1954, 87; *Time,* November 15, 1954, 26.
5. *Tampa Tribune,* June 18, 1967.
6. Cramer interview.

sborough, Pasco, and Hernando counties, Cramer benefited from the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket, though he lost by .7 percent. In 1954, Cramer, with a stronger organization, unseated Campbell by the same .7 percent margin. Cramer, however, found the $40,000 spent in the race insufficient for television advertising. The state GOP, which had offered no aid in 1952, contributed $4,000 in 1954.[7] Florida Democratic Congressman Robert "Bob" Sikes depicted Campbell as "hard-working, dedicated and capable" but ineffective in public speaking. Sikes, who stumped for Campbell, later remembered: "[I]t was easy to diagnose the trouble; Courtney couldn't cope with the articulate Cramer on the platform. His speeches were wooden and uninteresting. I attempted to help him and even wrote out some short messages which I thought would be effective in getting his story across to his constituents. I was dismayed when I heard him deliver them. He sounded like a third grader struggling through a reading assignment. Cramer was articulate, a successful lawyer, and he already enjoyed some recognition in public life. In my effort to help Campbell, I said that Cramer, serving in a Democratic Congress, would be like a lost ball in high weeds. Bill never let me forget that statement, although subsequently we became good friends."[8]

Cramer's breakthrough did not seem to register with GOP chairman Harold Alexander of Fort Myers who handled federal patronage outside Cramer's district. Cramer recalls that Alexander did "his best to put me in my place," though Cramer was the first Republican in the Florida delegation in seventy-two years. Cramer claims Alexander overemphasized patronage to the neglect of voter registration.[9]

By 1964, after a decade in the House, Cramer was elected in the primary as Republican national committeeman, a position he held for twenty consecutive years, and he headed a presidential delegate slate pledged to Barry Goldwater. Cramer said Goldwater asked him to circumvent the party "regulars" led by

7. Ibid.; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress,* 697; Florida, *General Election Returns,* November, 1954 (Tallahassee, 1954); *U. S. News and World Report,* November 21, 1952, 49-51; November 12, 1954, 87; *Time,* November 15, 1954, 26.
8. Robert Lee Fulton Sikes, *He-Coon: The Bob Sikes Story* (Pensacola, 1985), 324.
9. Cramer interview.

Alexander's successor, Tom Brown of Tampa, because the leadership had been too passive in the past. Gurney, a transplanted New Englander from Winter Park who had been elected to Congress in 1962, initially joined the insurgents. Cramer claimed the state committee had "never been really interested in electing Republicans," and had "ignored Republicans when they were elected." When the primary grew divisive, Gurney withdrew his earlier backing of the Cramer insurgents. The Goldwaterites tried to "marry" the two slates, but Cramer said Brown's faction made such demands that no "marriage" was possible. When Goldwater's nomination became certain, GOP strategist Richard Kleindienst halted a scheduled appearance for the Cramer slate by Goldwater's two sons. As the "regulars" just barely won the primary, Cramer contends his side could have prevailed had Goldwater's backing remaind intact. Cramer charged that the "regulars" may have "sold out" Goldwater had the "stop-Goldwater" coalition been credible.[10]

In 1964, the politically unknown Claude Kirk opposed Democratic Senator Spessard L. Holland, the former governor and epitome of the Florida Democratic "establishment." While considered a "sacrificial lamb," Kirk campaigned enthusiastically and polled 36.1 percent of the vote. Born in California, Kirk later moved to Montgomery, Alabama, where his father was secretary to the state House of Representatives. Before entering politics, he formed the American Heritage Life Insurance Company in Jacksonville and the Kirk Investment Company in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.[11] Cramer claims that Kirk would "beg me" to let him address meetings during the delegate and national committeeman races. Thereby, Cramer contends that Kirk received his first exposure to GOP voters.[12] Two years later, having labeled his Democratic rival, Miami Mayor Robert King High, as an "ultraliberal," Kirk was elected governor in a startling upset. He polled 821,190 votes to High's 668,233 and carried fifty-six of the state's sixty-seven counties. Kirk received 355,585

10. Ibid,; Barone, et al., *The Almanac of American Politics*, 187; Robert D. Novak, *The Agony of the G.O.P., 1964* (New York, 1965), 291-92, 368; Bernard Cosman, *Five States for Goldwater* (Tuscaloosa, 1966), 112.
11. Charles Moritz, ed., *Current Biography Yearbook, 1967* (New York, 1967), 232.
12. Cramer interview.

more votes than the number of registered Republicans.[13] Sometime during the campaign, a schism developed between Cramer and Kirk. The "bad blood" has persisted to the point that in a 1988 interview, Kirk said he could not recall Cramer's having rendered him any assistance in his 1964 or 1966 races. "Cramer never helped me do anything," Kirk reported. "At all times he was a total combatant."[14]

Kirk claims that Cramer wanted the gubernatorial nomination himself after the "conservative" runner-up Democrat, Governor Haydon Burns, refused to endorse High. Kirk said that Cramer's legislative assistant, Jack P. Inscoe, a Tampa developer, could verify that Cramer had asked Kirk to bow out. Kirk contends the three met in May or June of 1966 "in a car . . . probably in Palm Beach County."[15] Inscoe denies the allegation. "This never happened. Kirk is not known for telling too much truth." Though Cramer insists that he never wished to be governor, Kirk asks, "How could I have brought this up if it didn't happen?"[16]

Cramer subsequently urged Kirk to merge the Pinellas gubernatorial operation with the regular organization, but Kirk organized a separate campaign to maximize Democratic support. Cramer recalls this disagreement as the "first indication that Kirk intended to do his own thing and attempt to form his own organization within the Republican party in Florida. I didn't get the signal at the time, but it became very obvious later, particularly when he attempted to defeat me as national committeeman in 1968."[17] Kirk asked Gurney to serve as chairman at his inauguration, although Gurney had not been involved in the early Kirk campaigns. Cramer was not even asked to serve on the inaugural committee.[18] In 1968, Kirk dispatched his staff to

13. High had become the Democratic candidate after a very bitter and divisive party campaign against the incumbent, Governor Haydon Burns. Florida, *General Election Returns,* November 8, 1966; Moritz, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1967,* 233.
14. Claude Kirk, telephone interview with author, Palm Beach, FL, March 7, 1988.
15. Ibid., May 3, 1988.
16. Jack Inscoe, telephone conversation with author, Tampa, FL, May 3, 1988; Cramer interview.
17. Kirk interview, May 3, 1988; Cramer interview.
18. Cramer interview.

the Republican state convention in Orlando to seek Cramer's removal as national committeeman. "I wanted my own man," Kirk said. "After all, I was the leader of the party. If Cramer had been the leader of the party, he would have wanted his own man too."[19] Cramer accused Kirk of attempting to be "not only the governor but the king of the party, and I was about the only person at the time who stood in his way from taking total control." Cramer attributes his retention as committeeman to the loyalty of organizational Republicans. "I had proved myself an effective congressman. I was on the House leadership as vice-chairman of the Republican Conference and was ranking member on the Public Works Committee."[20]

Recalling a 1967 visit to Kirk's office, Cramer said that a former legislator was denied an appointment with the governor even though the man was a stalwart Republican. "Kirk made it very clear that he got a great deal of joy in making sure that this guy didn't get an appointment. . . . He just loved to kick people in the teeth to show how much power he had," Cramer charged. Despite witnessing such scenes, Cramer claimed party unity led him to avoid public criticism of Kirk; Cramer viewed Kirk as "his own worst enemy."[21] Kirk denies that he ever had a "serious discussion" with Cramer on any topic.[22] Walter Wurfel, a Floridian who was President Carter's deputy press secretary, termed Kirk's election in 1966 the "worst thing that could have happened to the Republicans. He wasn't interested in the Republican party; party was a matter of convenience for him."[23]

Cramer believed that Kirk may have become vice-president or president had he tended to his gubernatorial duties. Eying the vice-presidency, Kirk stood alone from his delegation at the Miami convention by supporting New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller rather than the almost certain nominee, Richard Nixon. Cramer claims that Nixon might have selected Kirk over Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland, another freshman governor, had Kirk met his responsibilities as governor of Florida rather than actively soliciting the vice-presidency. Kirk claims that it had

19. Kirk interview, March 7, 1988.
20. Cramer interview.
21. Ibid.
22. Kirk interview, March 7, 1988.
23. Quoted in Lamis, *Two-Party South*, 292.

been "agreed" that he would run with either Nixon or Rockefeller, but, he insists, Nixon picked Agnew to obtain contributions from Greek-American businessmen.[24]

While the Republicans convened in Miami in 1968, the party sensed a historic opportunity to gain the Senate seat being vacated by George Smathers. The Democratic nomination went to former Governor LeRoy Collins, an ally of the embattled President Johnson. Cramer and Gurney were prospective primary opponents until Cramer, citing a "gentlemen's agreement" with Gurney, said he had stepped aside to permit his colleague to run with the "understanding" that Gurney would back Cramer for senator in 1970. "He pledged his support to me, and I did to him, and we shook hands." Cramer added that postponement of his Senate race would allow him to finish various projects in the House.[25]

Cramer's former law partner, Herman Goldner, termed by the press as a "liberal" Republican after he backed Johnson in 1964, opposed Gurney in the primary, but he polled only a few votes.[26] Gurney defeated Collins in the general election, 1,131,499 to 892,637, and carried all but four counties. Thereafter, Gurney and Cramer crisscrossed the state in various party-building activities. In the fall of 1969, a few weeks before Senator Holland confirmed his retirement, Cramer declared his candidacy for the Senate. Nixon had urged Cramer to run. "Bill, the Senate needs you, the country needs you, the people need you– now, run."[27]

The Cramer-Gurney "agreement" unraveled after April 8, 1970, when the Senate rejected Nixon's second consecutive Supreme Court nominee, Tallahassee's Judge Harrold Carswell of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, whose judicial service had begun under Eisenhower. Gurney and Holland, both Carswell supporters, were dismayed when a bipartisan coalition rejected him fifty-five to forty-five on allegations of "mediocrity" and

24. Cramer interview; Kirk interview, March 7, 1988.
25. Cramer interview.
26. *New York Times,* January 28, May 8, 1968. See Patrick H. Gaddell, "Florida Politics: The Myth and the Reality" (honors thesis, Harvard University, May 1969) for details of the 1966 and 1968 elections.
27. Florida, *General Election Returns,* November 5, 1968; *New York Times,* September 18, 28, November 13, 1969, April 29, 1970; *Newsweek,* May 4, 1970, 29.

past "racism."[28] Carswell was quoted as having stated in the late 1940s, while living in Georgia, that "segregation is the only practical and correct way of life in our states. I have always believed and shall always act so."[29] In his defense, Carswell noted that former Presidents Truman and Johnson had made similar comments in their earlier years. Hoping to benefit from the uproar in Florida over Carswell's rejection, aides of either Kirk or Gurney proposed that Carswell resign from the bench to run for the United States Senate. Gurney, who declined to discuss the "gentlemen's agreement" with Cramer, said only that he and Cramer have "totally different opinions on that. That is ancient history, and I see no point in reviving things. . . . If I told my complete version of the matter, Cramer would not believe me, and I don't want Bill angry at me." Gurney added that he was unaware that Cramer had considered running for the Senate at the time Gurney declared his candidacy.[30]

When Kirk and Gurney endorsed Carswell, Florida Lieutenant Governor Ray C. Osborne, a Kirk ally from St. Petersburg, abandoned his own challenge to Cramer. Years later, Kirk said that he "should have stuck with Osborne [now a Boca Raton attorney] and not encouraged Carswell to run." He insisted that he had not "created" Carswell's candidacy.[31] Carswell said he wanted to "confront the liberals who shot me down" but denied that Kirk took advantage of the failed confirmation to thwart Cramer. "I was only vaguely aware of any differences between Kirk and Cramer. . . . Neither then nor now did I feel used. . . . What feud they had was their own." Carswell added that he had no knowledge of any "gentlemen's agreement" between Cramer and Gurney and had considered running for the Senate before Nixon nominated him to the Supreme Court.[32] Quoting the verse "by your enemies ye shall be known," Carswell blamed his

28. *New York Times*, April 9, 26, July 13, 1970.
29. Ibid., April 21, July 13, 1970.
30. Ibid., July 13, 1970; Edward Gurney, telephone interview with author, Winter Park, FL, May 6, 1988.
31. Kirk interview, March 7, 1988; *U. S. News and World Report*, September 7, 1970, 34-35; *New York Times*, April 21, 1970.
32. *Newsweek*, May 4, 1970, 29; Harrold Carswell, written interview, Monticello, FL, March 10, 1988.

loss on "dark evil winds of liberalism" and the "northern press and its knee-jerking followers in the Senate."[33]

Carswell believed that Florida needed a second Republican senator because "even a conservative Democrat would automatically vote to place the chamber under 'liberal' control."[34] Carswell recalled that Rogers C. B. Morton, Republican National Chairman and Maryland Representative, had told him that he considered Carswell "clearly electable" and thought Cramer should not risk a "safe" House seat. Whether Carswell expected to bluff Cramer from the race, the judge insists that he and his family were not unduly influenced by anyone.[35] Disputing Carswell's interpretation of the late Rogers Morton's position, Cramer said that he learned of Carswell's candidacy in a call from Morton, whom Cramer described as "my dear personal friend." When Morton asked if Cramer planned to abandon the Senate race, Cramer replied that neither Carswell, Kirk, nor Gurney had consulted him. Cramer quoted Morton as having lividly termed such machinations as among the worst "double crosses" he had witnessed. Cramer speculated that Carswell was being influenced by the "back room wiles" of Kirk and Gurney because Kirk had a state patrolman intercept Carswell while the judge was headed for a central Florida vacation after the confirmation debacle.[36] The White House and the Republican National Committee sat out the primary even though President Nixon preferred Cramer. Gerald Warren, deputy press secretary, insisted that Nixon had "no knowledge and no involvement" in Carswell's candidacy.[37] Gurney, however, claimed that Nixon aide Harry Dent, a South Carolinian with ties to Senator Strom Thurmond, had urged Carswell to run.[38] Carswell secured endorsements from such celebrities as John Wayne and Gene Autry and retained Richard Viguerie, the Falls Church, Virginia, direct mail specialist, to raise funds.[39] Cramer's Senate

33. *Miami Herald*, September 4, 1970; *New York Times*, July 13, 1970; *U. S. News and World Report*, September 7, 1970, 34-35.
34. Carswell interview; *Facts on File* 30 (April 20, 1970), 263.
35. Carswell interview; *Newsweek*, September 21, 1970, 39; *Time*, September 21, 1970, 16-17.
36. Cramer interview; *Newsweek*, May 4, 1970, 29.
37. *New York Times*, April 21, 23, 29, September 9, 1970.
38. Ibid., April 23, 1970; *Time*, September 21, 1970, 16-17.
39. *New York Times*, May 29, 1970; *Miami Herald*, September 4, 1970; *Tallahassee Democrat*, September 14, 1970. Richard Viguerie declined three requests to discuss his fund-raising activities in the Carswell campaign.

candidacy paved the way for his former district assistant, C. William "Bill" Young of St. Petersburg, then Florida's senate minority leader, to seek the Congressional seat Cramer had vacated, a position that Young has retained with few obstacles since 1971.

Stressing his amendment to the 1964 Civil Rights Act that forbade "forced busing" to achieve racial balance, Cramer questioned Carswell's concurrence in two Fifth Circuit busing edicts.[40] Carswell first tried to ignore Cramer's accusation, but he then resorted to "long-winded legalisms" to lambaste the "idiocy" of busing.[41] Carswell's speeches were compared to "legal opinions" aimed at such confirmation critics as Senators Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts and Birch Bayh, Jr., of Indiana. As a circuit judge, Carswell was bound by high court precedent that, after 1968, decreed busing as an available tool to achieve racial balance. Like Cramer, Kirk was also identified with anti-busing forces when he attempted without success in 1970 to halt a Manatee County desegregation plan.[42] Kirk satirized the New Orleans-based "busing" judges for allegedly "drinking in the French Quarter and reading dirty books."[43] Cramer broadened his ire beyond busing to denounce "cop killers, bombers, burners, and racial revolutionaries who would destroy America."[44]

Cramer's colleagues, particularly Congressman Sikes, viewed him as intelligent and hardworking, but Sarasota Democrat James Haley was less charitable. Haley scoffed that Cramer was "little in stature and big in mouth" and suggested that he should "talk less and work more."[45] Prior to the bruised feelings over the "gentlemen's agreement," Cramer and Gurney had worked well as colleagues but were not close friends. "In looking back on it, I realize that Gurney was very much his own man and apparently was not too comfortable with my being the ranking Republican in the delegation," Cramer reflected. Kirk tried to

40. *Newsweek*, September 21, 1970, 39; *Time*, September 21, 1970, 16-17; *Tallahassee Democrat*, September 6, 1970; *Miami Herald*, September 4, 1970.
41. *New York Times*, July 31, 1970; *Miami Herald*, September 4, 1970; *Tallahassee Democrat*, September 6, 1970.
42. *New York Times*, September 13, 1970; *Miami Herald*, September 4, October 17, 1970; *Time*, September 21, 1970, 16-17.
43. *Miami Herald*, September 5, 1970.
44. *New York Times*, August 31, 1970; *Facts on File* 30 (September 16, 1970), 661.
45. *Tampa Tribune*, June 18, 1967.

isolate Cramer from Gurney by naming Gurney's Orlando law firm counsel for the Florida Turnpike Authority at a $100,000 annual retainer. By contrast, Cramer's firm received no state business.[46]

Cramer said that he had a friendly acquaintance with Carswell prior to 1970, but he subsequently viewed Carswell as a "pawn" of "would-be kingmakers" Kirk and Gurney. Cramer attributed his primary triumph to his grassroots base and to Carswell's lack of campaign experience.[47] Carswell, however, claims his own support among Democrats would have asserted itself had Florida used the "open primary" of Georgia or Alabama. Carswell further maintains that the successful Democratic senatorial nominee Lawton Chiles told him privately that Chile's polls showed Cramer would lose the general election but that Carswell would be competitive. Carswell said his polls showed that he could obtain nearly all the Republican vote and 40 percent Democratic backing.[48]

The Cramer-Kirk schism also affected Jack Eckerd's gubernatorial aspirations. A native Pennsylvanian who had relocated to Florida after World War II to launch a drugstore chain specializing in innovative merchandising, Eckerd declared for governor before Carswell entered the Senate race. He warned that Kirk's renomination could produce a Republican fiasco in the fall.[49] In a primary endorsement, the *Miami Herald* depicted Eckerd as an "efficient campaigner with the ability to bring people together constructively" with "a common touch, dedication to high principle and organizing genius."[50] Though loosely aligned with Eckerd, Cramer endorsed no one in the gubernatorial primary that also included State Representative (and later Congressman) Louis "Skip" Bafalis. Cramer admits that he voted for Eckerd in the primary and runoff but denies having encouraged Eckerd to run. "I obviously didn't say I would oppose him but indicated that I had my own race." Distraught that Kirk's antics had led to a fratricidal primary, Cramer said he

46. Cramer interview; *New York Times,* April 21, 1970; *Miami Herald,* September 4, 1970.
47. Cramer interview; *New York Times,* April 22, 1970.
48. Carswell interview; *Tallahassee Democrat,* September 4, 1970. Lawton Chiles did not reply to two written requests for an interview.
49. Cramer interview.
50. *Miami Herald,* September 6, 1970.

"customarily" avoided involvement in primaries outside his own race.[51] Kirk claims that Cramer assisted Eckerd, and he hurls harsh words at both men. Kirk, whom the press had depicted as the arrogant "Claudius Maximus I," said Eckerd is "notorious for his ability to change the scope of the truth. He has an ego problem." Kirk denounced Eckerd for having contributed funds to several Democrats in earlier elections, for allegedly running down a Cuban fisherman in a yacht race, and for spending heavily from his personal fortune. As for Cramer, Kirk claimed that he had exercised no "input on the nation after eight [House] terms."[52]

Cramer polled 220,553 votes to Carswell's 121,281. A third contender, businessman George Balmer, drew 10,947 votes.[53] Carswell expressed no regret over having resigned from the bench to seek the elusive Senate seat.[54] Republican Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, who opposed Carswell's confirmation, said Carswell was "asking for it, and he got what he deserved."[55] Kirk received 172,888 primary ballots, but Bafalis's 48,378 votes were enough to require a runoff with Eckerd, who received 137,731. In the runoff, Kirk prevailed, 199,943 to 152,327, after obtaining Bafalis's reluctant endorsement.[56] In Melbourne, Kirk denied that he had arranged any deal with Bafalis, who earlier had accused Kirk of having "made Florida the laughingstock of the nation." Years later Bafalis blamed Kirk's defeat on "stupid things he did."[57] Though Carswell and Eckerd endorsed Cramer and Kirk, they were inactive in the fall campaign. The tense primaries left the GOP in a defensive posture against the Democrats, State Senators Reubin Askew of Pensacola and Lawton Chiles of Lakeland, who skillfully healed philosophical divisions amid their own ranks. Apprehensive Republicans cheered Congressman Louis Frey, Jr., who in an ad-

51. Cramer interview; *New York Times,* September 8, 30, 1970.
52. Kirk interview, March 7, 1988; *Miami Herald,* September 7, 16, 20, 21, 25, 1970.
53. Florida, *Primary Election Returns,* September 8, 1970; *Time,* September 21, 1970, 16-17.
54. *Miami Herald,* September 3, 1970; *New York Times,* September 9, 1970.
55. *Tallahassee Democrat,* September 10, 1970.
56. Florida, *Primary Election Results,* September 8, 29, 1970; *Tallahassee Democrat,* September 12, 14, 1970.
57. *Miami Herald,* September 9, 16, October 23, 1970; quoted in Lamis, *Two-Party South,* 292.

dress before the GOP state convention in Orlando implored the factions to forget their "family feud" and unite for the general election.[58]

Yet primary lacerations long haunted the GOP. "Askew and Chiles form a logical team; Kirk and Cramer don't," insisted the *Miami Herald* in reference to an "uneasy alliance" between the Republican nominees.[59] Despite the public unity after the primaries, tension between Cramer and Kirk endures. Cramer said he and his staff had voted a straight Republican ticket, but when asked years later if he had voted for Cramer, Kirk retorted, "That's my business."[60] The reply reflected columnist Joseph Kraft's perception that Kirk had a "theatrical hair for personalizing issues."[61] In its endorsement of the Democrats, the *Herald* lauded Askew for having "captured the imagination of a state which plainly deserves new leadership."[62] Kirk ridiculed Askew as a "momma's boy who wouldn't have the courage to stand up under the fire of the legislators" and as a "nice, sweet-looking fellow chosen by 'liberals'. . . to front for them."[63] Such rhetoric helped reactivate the Democratic coalition. Michael Thompson, the Bafalis manager who had switched to Eckerd but then sat out the general election, claimed Kirk had demolished the "coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats who elected him in 1966. . . . The trail from Tallahassee to Palm Beach is littered with the bodies of former friends, supporters and citizens– all of whom made the fatal mistake of believing the words of Claude Kirk." Thompson added that he would not have been surprised if Kirk had even joined the Liberal-Republican mayor of New York, John Lindsay, on a third- or fourth-party presidential ticket in 1972.[64] Eckerd found that his initial satisfaction with Kirk's election "soon dissipated into disappointment and embarrassment. . . . I was offended by his public behavior and chagrined that he was a Republican." Despite Kirk's tactics, Eckerd reflected that "time heals all wounds,

58. *Miami Herald*, October 4, 1970; *St. Petersburg Times*, October 4, 1970.
59. *Miami Herald*, October 1, 11, 1970.
60. Cramer interview; Kirk interview, March 7, 1988.
61. *Miami Herald*, September 7, 1970.
62. Ibid., October 18, 1970.
63. Ibid., October 30, 1970; *Tallahassee Democrat*, October 30, 1970.
64. *Miami Herald*, September 16, 19, 1970.

and now I chuckle about it." Eckerd added that his defeat in 1970 probably prolonged his life.[65]

In the general election campaign, Cramer questioned Chiles's state senate votes to hike automobile liability rates by 50 percent over two years and to augment school bus insurance premiums while Chiles's agency held the policy on the Polk County board, but such "conflict-of-interest" accusations seemed to have little effect.[66] The "self-made" Cramer painted Chiles as the beneficiary of a "silver-spoon" background, but when Chiles placed his maximum assets at $300,000, the media ignored questions about personal wealth.[67] Instead, reporters emphasized "Walking Lawton's" ninety-two-day, 1,003-mile trek from the Florida panhandle to Key Largo. Before the walk, a "public-relations stroke of genius," Chiles was identified by only 5 percent of voters; afterwards, he gained widespread recognition.[68] The *Tallahassee Democrat* forecast that Chiles's "weary feet and comfortable hiking boots" would carry him to victory and described the forty-year-old Democrat as "a slow-talking country lawyer" with "boyish amiability" and "back country common sense and methodical urbane political savvy."[69] Chiles's "Huck Finn" image and "common man" rhetoric were contrasted one night in Miami when he held a fried chicken picnic while the GOP showcased a black-tie, $1,000-a-plate dinner.[70]

Cramer could not match Chiles's public appeal. One observer likened Cramer's "charisma" to a "speech in the *Congressional Record.*" A Cramer aide, citing his boss's congressional service, decried the difficulty of "selling experience. It's not a sexy thing."[71] One Chiles advertisement cleverly urged a "vote for yourself. Chiles thinks like you do. He walked our streets and highways to hear what you have to say. That's why a vote

65. Jack M. Eckerd and Charles P. Conn, *Eckerd* (Old Tappan, NJ, 1987), 113-19; *Miami Herald,* September 4, 30, 1970.
66. *Miami Herald,* October 10, 1970; *Tallahassee Democrat,* October 10, 18, 1970.
67. *Miami Herald,* October 23, 1970; *Tallahassee Democrat,* November 1, 1970.
68. Lamis, *Two-Party South,* 185; *Miami Herald,* September 9, 1970; *Tallahassee Democrat,* September 6, November 1, 1970; Charles Moritz, ed., *Current Biography Yearbook, 1971* (New York, 1972), 88-90.
69. *Tallahassee Democrat,* November 1, 1970; *New York Times,* September 29, 1970.
70. Moritz, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1971,* 88-90; Bass and DeVries, *Transformation of Southern Politics,* 124; *Miami Herald,* September 27, 1970.
71. *Tallahassee Democrat,* November 1, 1970; *Miami Herald,* September 4, 1970.

for Chiles is like a vote for yourself."[72] Publicizing "shoe leather and a shoestring budget," Chiles dubbed himself a "problem solver who doesn't automatically vote 'no' on every issue."[73] Cramer later said he should have demanded more debates and rebuffed the walking tactic. "I never could get that turned around. He was walking, and I was running. But the press was enamored with the walk, and he finally changed his strategy from walking because he . . . didn't have the contributions to pay for a campaign otherwise. . . . So everytime he was asked a question about where he stood, he would quote somebody that he met on the campaign trail, to state what he was going to do when he got to the Senate consistent with what that constituent had said. The basic approach gave him more credibility to his walk, which had nothing to do with his qualifications for the Senate but gave him free publicity and appealed to the 'little man.' "[74]

Many Floridians in the 1970s feared that excessive growth might destroy the state's natural beauty. When ecology became a national matter, President Nixon created the Environmental Protection Agency. Chiles opposed the Cross Florida Barge Canal, though every member of the state delegation had previously backed the project. Chiles also proposed federal funds to remove waste from the once bass-teeming Lake Apopka in central Florida.[75] By contrast, Cramer received little credit from environmentalists even though he had drafted the 1956 Water Pollution Control Act and had sponsored legislation to protect alligators, stop beach erosion, dredge harbors, and remove oil spills. Instead, a Cramer critic accused him of weakening antipollution laws. Cramer questioned Chiles's opposition to a proposed severance tax on phosphate mining. That particularly affected Tampa Bay. "Liberal Lawton has protected the phosphate industry– the state's single largest polluter," Cramer claimed.[76] By 1974, a survey showed Floridians favored limits

72. *Miami Herald*, September 28, 1970.
73. Ibid., September 9, October 29, 1970.
74. Cramer interview.
75. Moritz, *Current Biography Yearbook, 1971*, 88-90; *Tallahassee Democrat*, September 10, October 27, 1970; *Miami Herald*, October 27, 1970; *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon* (Washington, DC, 1971), 957.
76. *Tallahassee Democrat*, November 1, 1970; *Miami Herald*, October 23, 24, 1970; "Bill Cramer . . . Who Else?" campaign brochure of Cramer senatorial campaign, 1970.

on development; 60 percent urged more public funding for conservation.[77]

In the 1970 primary, all major papers, except the pro-Carswell *Tallahassee Democrat*, had urged Cramer's nomination, but only three papers– in Orlando, Fort Myers, and Pasco County– stuck with Cramer during the fall. Chiles hence benefited from a nearly unanimous press.[78] In the face of such media opposition, Cramer tried in vain to pin the "liberal" label on Chiles, who instead preferred the epithet "progressive conservative."[79] Explaining Cramer's failure to make "liberalism" an issue in 1970, the *New York Times* observed that Askew and Chiles "convey amiable good ol' boy qualities with moderate-to-liberal aspirations that do not strike fear into the hearts of conservatives."[80]

Chiles, who relied heavily on Senator Spessard Holland's backing, joked that Cramer had expected to face the primary runner-up, former Governor C. Farris Bryant who, like LeRoy Collins, Gurney's foe two years earlier, had ties to the Johnson administration. "I'm not anything Cramer thought he would be running against. So he's reduced to telling lies about me," Chiles quipped.[81] Chiles boasted that Cramer could bring "Nixon, Agnew, Reagan and anybody else he wants. . . . I'll take Holland on my side against all of them."[82] Chiles challenged Cramer's support for Nixon's Family Assistance Plan, which had been rejected by the Senate Finance Committee. Opponents claimed the plan would have increased costs, but Cramer argued for keeping welfare families together with hope of ultimate independence. In 1988, at the end of his Senate career, Chiles, who had earlier opposed such reform as "a guaranteed annual income," backed a welfare program similar to what the Senate

77. Bass and DeVries, *Transformation of Southern Politics*, 116.
78. *Tallahassee Democrat*, September 6, 1970; Cramer interview. Among papers endorsing Chiles were the *St. Petersburg Times, Tampa Tribune, Tallahassee Democrat, Miami Herald, Pensacola News-Journal, Clearwater Sun, Sarasota Herald Tribune, Tampa Times, Sanford Herald, St. Augustine Record*, and *Ocala Star-Banner*.
79. Quoted in Numan V. Bartley and Hugh D. Graham, *Southern Politics and the Second Reconstruction* (Baltimore, 1975), 146-47; *Miami Herald*, October 27, 1970.
80. *New York Times*, October 11, 1970.
81. *Miami Herald*, October 1, 6, 14, 28, 1970; *Tallahassee Democrat*, October 22, 1970; *New York Times*, September 29, 1970.
82. *Tallahassee Democrat*, September 30, 1970.

had rejected in 1970. That plan cleared the Senate with only one dissenting vote.[83] Chiles adopted his rival's stance on civil disorders by supporting the law that mandates the death penalty for "bombers" who cause deaths.[84] Cramer, had introduced the antiriot measure, approved 389-25 by the House, that made police assault a federal crime. The law, designed to halt criminals who cross state lines, was lauded at Cramer rallies by Vice President Agnew and Attorney General John Mitchell. It was the basis for the 1970 arrest of black communist Angela Davis and five of the 1968 "Chicago Seven" defendants.[85]

Chiles countered Cramer's claim that a GOP-controlled Senate would mean removal of the controversial Arkansas Senator J. William Fulbright as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee by stressing that other southern Democrats would also forfeit chairmanships to Republicans.[86] Chiles claimed that Cramer would act as a Nixon "rubber stamp" whose partisan interests would prohibit independence.[87] In his presidential papers, Nixon, who campaigned for Cramer in Miami Beach, Palm Beach, St. Petersburg, and Tallahassee, cited the congressman's sponsorship of "significant legislation designed to stop bombing and riots" and his record on the environment, senior citizens, and education.[88] Nixon said more Republicans were needed in Congress to bring an "honorable end" to the Vietnam War, maintain America's international presence, and halt "permissiveness, pornography, and busing." The heavily Democratic congressional majorities soon prompted Nixon to claim an "ideological" majority, a bipartisan coalition of "conservatives" and "moderates" to pass his programs.[89] Critical of dissenting youth, Nixon reminded the "silent majority" in St. Petersburg that the "impossible dream in most countries is possible in

83. Ibid., October 10, 1970; *New York Times*, September 30, 1988.
84. *Miami Herald*, October 14, 1970.
85. Ibid., October 8, 14, 1970; *Tallahassee Democrat*, October 14, 15, November 1, 1970.
86. *Miami Herald*, September 4, 1970; *Tallahassee Democrat*, September 9, October 25, 1970.
87. *Miami Herald*, October 23, 1970; *New York Times*, October 27, 1970.
88. *Nixon Papers*, 950; *Facts on File* 30 (October 28, 1970), 788.
89. *Nixon Papers*, 951-56; *Miami Herald*, October 28, 1970; *New York Times*, October 28, 29, 1970.

America."[90] Making the first presidential appearance in Tallahassee since William McKinley, Nixon plugged "neighborhood schools" and renounced busing for the "sole purpose of achieving racial balance" as contrary to law and "quality education."[91] Though Chiles also opposed busing, he attracted black support by belittling Cramer's antibusing amendment as "just talk" and "an emotional issue." Cramer, in turn, challenged Chiles's vote in the Florida senate to give court-imposed busing orders the "status of state law," while Chiles proposed "magnet schools" to negate busing conflicts.[92]

Despite the Nixon-Agnew "road show," polls indicated weak Republican support. "The Republicans Are in Trouble in Florida," predicted a *New York Times* headline. On October 25, the *Miami Herald* poll placed Kirk and Cramer with 38 and 39 percent, respectively, compared to 62 and 60 percent for Askew and Chiles. The poll defined the chief issues as law and order, rebellious youth, the Vietnam War, and drugs, and found that blue-collar voters were identifying the Republicans with "inflation," then at one of the lowest levels of the forthcoming decade. Democrats further benefited from the perception of Askew and Chiles as "overnight sensations." Cramer insisted that the polls reflected only the views of the media whom, he claimed, "love those liberals."[93] The GOP was further weakened when partisans of George Wallace, the 1968 American Independent party presidential candidate, citing Kirk's earlier condemnations of Wallace, endorsed Askew and Chiles. Kirk had previously renounced Wallace as a "racist" and a "flaming liberal" in conspiracy with President Johnson to thwart the emergence of southern Republicanism.[94] The *St. Petersburg Times* found Kirk trailing Askew by twenty-two points in Cramer's home county of Pinellas, while Cramer led by just seven points there. The survey indicated that Kirk would receive support from 51 percent of

90. *Nixon Papers,* 962; *New York Times,* October 30, 1970.
91. *Miami Herald,* October 24, 1970; *New York Times,* October 29, 1970; *Tallahassee Democrat,* October 28, 29, 1970.
92. *Miami Herald,* Septeember 2, October 18, 1970; *Tallahassee Democrat,* October 18, 1970.
93. *New York Times,* October 27, November 4, 1970; *Miami Herald,* October 25, 27, 1970.
94. Quoted in Nick Thimmesch, *The Condition of Republicanism* (New York, 1968), 239; *New York Times,* November 5, 1970; *Tallahassee Democrat,* September 2, October 2, 1970.

Republicans, while Cramer would garner 75 percent GOP backing.[95]

Cramer, Gurney, and Kirk differ on reasons for the GOP losses in 1970. Besides allowing Chiles's "walk" to go unchallenged and failing to seek more debates, Cramer cites his reliance on an out-of-state public relations firm not well versed in Florida politics as factors in the defeat. Moreover, he feels that the $350,000 spending limit in effect in Florida for the 1970 campaign only did not permit enough television exposure for minority-party candidates facing institutional obstacles. Cramer also maintains that the intraparty schism hurt his candidacy even though the GOP fared poorly all across the South in 1970.[96] Gurney blames the defeat on the failure to attract enough Democratic support. Kirk, denying the impact of the schism, insists that no Republican could have been elected in Florida that year because Askew and Chiles have re-cemented the majority coalition. Indeed, the Democrats, finding that "fresh faces and new looks outweighed age and experience," gained across-the-board support from working-class whites, blacks, Jews, Cuban-Americans, metropolitan residents, and rural voters.[97]

Cramer polled 772,817 votes, or 61,716 more than the number of registered Republicans. Chiles's 902,438 ballots, representing majorities in fifty-five counties, was 1,121,830 below the number of registered Democrats.[98] Hence, much of an apathetic electorate sat out one of Florida's most contested senatorial races. Robert Sikes contends that numerous Farris Bryant supporters may have defected to Cramer, but if that occurred, many Republicans either did not vote or bolted to Chiles. Sikes said the Kirk-Askew match had little impact on the Senate race because Kirk was a "political accident" with little control over other contests.[99] Askew won all but nine counties to defeat Kirk, 984,305 to 746,243. Cramer polled 26,574 votes more than Kirk and took the five counties that Kirk lost: Broward, Collier, Martin, Pasco, and Pinellas. Cramer ran 11,077

95. *Miami Herald,* October 4, 1970.
96. Cramer interview.
97. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 452.
98. Florida, *General Election Returns,* November 3, 1970.
99. Robert Sikes to author, Crestview, FL, June 1, 1987.

votes ahead of Chues in Pinellas County where registered Republicans then outnumbered Democrats by 3,059. Kirk and Cramer each won seven counties: Indian River, Lake, Manatee, Orange, Osceola, Sarasota, and Seminole, and Kirk took the two counties– Clay and St. Johns– -that were lost by Cramer.[100]

A disappointed Cramer weathered defeat in stride, having earlier told a reporter that "time and circumstance often measure a man's future. Quite often if you aspire to something, it becomes more unattainable because you are seeking it."[101] Generous in defeat, Kirk vowed to make Askew's term "as glorious as mine has been."[102] Askew said the Democrats represented a "new attitude in politics and a new confidence in the people" and hailed his party's "willingness to take on . . . the 'sacred cows' frontally . . . and to set really a new tone."[103]

Two months after the general election, tensions between Cramer and Gurney resumed when pro-Cramer L. E. "Tommy" Thomas, a Panama City automobile dealer associated with the later Reagan campaigns, ousted the Gurney-endorsed Duke Crittenden of Orlando for the state chairmanship. Thereafter, three congressmen friendly with Cramer– J. Herbert Burke of Hollywood, Louis Frey of Orlando, and C. W. Young of St. Petersburg– and national committeewoman Paula Hawkins of Maitland prepared a letter to the White House urging that Cramer, not Gurney, be Florida's patronage advisor. Gurney quickly initiated "peace" meetings with his intraparty rivals, and the letter was never mailed.[104] Gurney, who retired as senator in 1974 and failed in a later quest to regain his former House seat, was thereafter charged, and acquitted, of federal and state allegations involving $300,000 in unreported campaign funds and kickbacks from federal housing contracts.[105]

Despite talk to the contrary, Cramer never again sought public office and declined to consider appointment as a federal judge. Instead, he opened a Washington law practice. In 1973,

100. Florida, *General Election Returns,* November 3, 1970.
101. *Tampa Tribune,* June 18, 1967.
102. *Tallahassee Democrat,* November 4, 1970.
103. Quoted in Lamis, *Two-Party South,* 186; Bass and DeVries, *Transformation of Southern Politics,* 126.
104. *Tampa Tribune,* June 13, 1971; *Miami Herald,* September 26, 1971.
105. Lamis, *Two-Party South,* 293; Bass and DeVries, *Transformation of Southern Politics,* 125.

Cramer directed the confirmation team for the elevation of House Republican Leader Gerald Ford to the vice-presidency. He lobbied on behalf of several foreign governments, including that of Nicaraguan President Somoza. In 1979, he headed the first American trade mission to China after the normalization of relations. Cramer also represented the Republican National Committee when the Ripon Society unsuccessfully fought the delegate formula plan adopted in 1972 when Cramer had chaired the RNC rules committee.[106] In the fall of 1988, Cramer, while maintaining his Washington legal office, returned to St. Petersburg where he now practices law and is active in Tampa land development with his former aid, Jack Inscoe.

After his 1970 gubernatorial primary loss, Eckerd defeated Mrs. Hawkins for the 1974 Senate nomination but was beaten by Democrat Richard Stone when the American Independent nominee, Dr. John Grady, split the anti-Democratic vote. In a surprising move in 1978, Kirk switched allegiance to the Democrats to run again for governor after a federal court barred on technical grounds his planned independent candidacy. Even as a Democrat for the second time around, Kirk said he still twice supported Reagan and initially backed Congressman Connie Mack III, who scored a wafer-thin triumph for the United States Senate seat Chiles had unexpectedly vacated in 1988.[107] However, Kirk himself ran as a Democratic candidate for Chiles's seat but gained few primary votes. In 1990, Kirk again switched parties and announced his candidacy for governor as a Republican.

As governor, Reubin Askew formed a staff devoted to candidate recruitment and issues, an endeavor that helped to keep the Florida GOP in the doldrums for a full decade. Democrats became a real political party, instead of the previous "collection

106. Cramer interview; *New York Times,* December 24, 1970; Michael J. Krvzanek. *U. S.-Latin American Relations* (New York, 1985), 122-23: Jack Inscoe, telephone conversation with author, March 5, 1990.

107. Kirk interview, March 7, 1988. Though Kirk left the GOP, his son-in-law, State Senator Ander Crenshaw of Jacksonville, is an active Republican. Chiles's easy re-elections in 1976 and 1982, when he overwhelmed Dr. John Grady and State Senator Van B. Poole, respectively, made him a favorite for a fourth term in 1988 until he decided to step down. Askew briefly entered the race for the seat Chiles vacated but withdrew, citing fundraising barriers.

of individual contenders who often stood to lose, rather than gain, by endorsing each other."[108] Excluding Nixon's 1972 landslide and Paula Hawkins's victory for public service commissioner, the Florida GOP won no statewide races throughout the 1970s. Recovery from the Cramer-Kirk schism was indeed slow. Not until 1980 did the GOP rebound, when voters chose both Reagan electors and Mrs. Hawkins to fill Gurney's former Senate seat. She was beaten after one term in 1986 by Governor Robert "Bob" Graham, Askew's successor. Offsetting Hawkins's loss, the GOP finally regained the governorship with the election of Robert "Bob" Martinez, the state's first governor of Hispanic descent. And by 1989, as a result of regular and special elections and a Democratic defection, Florida sported a rare Republican majority in its United States House of Representatives delegation.

Florida Republicans continue to make impressive gains in voter registration. In October 1988, Republicans numbered 2,360,434, compared to 3,264,105 Democrats, 421,398 independents, and a scattering claiming other affiliations. Twelve counties are majority Republican by registration: Brevard, Charlotte, Collier, Indian River, Lake, Lee, Manatee, Martin, Orange, Pinellas, Sarasota, and Seminole. Between 1986 and 1988, Republican ranks swelled by 321,603 voters, while Democratic registration increased by just 49,352. For the first time, Republican registration trails the Democrats by fewer than 1,000,000 voters. Between October 1988, and April 1989, about 44,000 new voters registered as Republicans, in contrast to only 18,000 as Democrats. In the spring of 1989 the GOP was out-registering the Democrats nearly 6,500 to 1,000.[109] Republican potential in Florida had been particularly encouraging at the be-

108. Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 452. For a look at Askew's racial policies, see David Campbell and Joe R. Feagin, "Black Politics in the South: A Descriptive Analysis," *Journal of Politics* 37 (February 1975), 129-62.

109. Florida, *County Voter Registration*, October 1988; *Human Events* 49 (May 20, 1989), 2, quoting from Hastings Wyman's *The Southern Political Report*. Of the twelve counties with a majority of registered Republicans, only Cramer's home county of Pinellas voted against 1988 GOP senatorial nominee Connie Mack of Cape Coral. Pinellas gave Mack 47 percent, but the Democratic counties of Escambia (Pensacola), Bay (Panama City), and Duval (Jacksonville), all of which had stood firmly with Chiles and Askew in 1970, supported Mack who won by fewer than 34,000 votes (out of more than 4,065,000 cast) over Democratic Congressman Kenneth "Buddy" MacKay of Ocala.

ginning of the 1970s until the divisive schism between partisans of Claude Kirk and William Cramer sidetracked the possibility that one day the GOP might become the state's majority party. Republicans at the time were numerically weak, held few congressional seats, and lacked the breadth and depth essential to sustain a future majority party. The legacy of the 1970 campaign rests with the squandering of opportunity, often one of the most precious commodities in politics. A minority party mistakenly presumed it could function– quite prematurely and falsely as it turned out– like a majority party. After the 1970 schism, the GOP began once again to accept defeat as natural and inevitable, particularly when noncontroversial moderates equipped with favorable media coverage and sheer political skill kept Democrats in power by secure margins. But with time, Floridians rediscovered the benefits of the two-party system and demonstrated a willingness to reconsider Republicans for statewide leadership. The lessons of the Cramer-Kirk schism rest with the need to nurture firm political roots and eschew intraparty squabbles that work to enhance the opposition.

THE READ-ALSTON DUEL AND POLITICS IN TERRITORIAL FLORIDA

by JAMES M. DENHAM

THE December 27, 1839, issue of the St. Augustine *News* reported that on December 12 a "duel as fought . . . on the Georgia line between Leigh Read and Augustus Alston of Tallahassee. Weapons, rifles; distance, fifteen paces; *finale,* Alston killed."[1] As was typical editorial policy in the reporting of such affairs, no commentary was offered. But the editor might have added that Alston, a Whig, and Read, a Democrat, each led their political parties in a time when a man's honor and bravery were proven by action as well as words. Neither could, nor wished, to evade the field of honor. Indeed, both men regarded the conflict as a cure to both personal and partisan differences. Far from solving anything, the Read-Alston duel inaugurated a two-year long feud in which leading members of rival political factions in Florida took part. Triggering violence and civil disorder, the affair culminated in the bloody assassination of Leigh Read. The feud is significant because it was inextricably tied up with the emergence of an ultrapartisan two-party system in Florida. The event is also significant because it can be contended that it ended Leon County's– and indeed Florida's– toleration of dueling. Yet when the duel was fought, it was more condoned that condemned.

Middle Florida's experience with the code duello began with the first influx of settlers in the region in the middle 1820s. Despite numerous instances of knife lights, barroom brawls, and outright bushwhacking that was characteristic of any newly settled frontier community, the code duello, with its rules reflecting southern conceptions of honor, was popular among the upper classes. Participants in these duels included lawyers, newspaper editors, planters, members of the Legislative Council, and

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1. St. Joseph *Times,* January 1, 1840; Pensacola *Gazette,* December 21, 1839.

military men. Such persons reflected the values of an educated elite who shunned the type of violence practiced by the rougher elements of society. Thus, Middle Florida's experience with dueling demonstrates what many historians have discovered—the duel had a tendency to segregate certain classes of society.[2] This can be explained best by Southerners' insistence that duels be fought only among social equals; only a gentleman, one's peer, would be challenged to a duel. Men of lesser standing were publicly caned or horsewhipped. Many of Middle Florida's residents, despite what others may have thought of them, prided themselves on having "manner and breeding equal to those in any society."[3] The Read-Alston duel, one isolated incident in Leon County, Florida, was an example of upper-class violence enacted in the name of honor.

As in most southern frontier settings, a quick way for political aspirants to gain popularity and recognition was through the military. The Second Seminole War (1835-1842), provided both maneuver and a coveted means of achieving visibility. Many of the area's aspiring young men vied for leadership positions in the local militia units organized by territorial Governor Richard Keith Call. Among those selected were Leigh Read and Augustus Alston.

Born in 1809 in Sumner County, Tennessee, Leigh Read migrated to Florida in 1831. Settling in Centerville, just north of Tallahassee, Read read law in Governor Call's law office and was admitted to the bar in April 1833.[4] He mixed romance with opportunism when he married into two of the area's most respected families. His first wife was the daughter of John Bellamy, the affluent planter and road builder from Jefferson County. Upon her death, Read lodged himself firmly into the

2. Dickson Bruce, *Violence and Culture in the Old South* (Austin, 1979), 40; Richard Buel, *Securing the Revolution: Ideology in American Politics, 1789-1815* (Ithaca, 1972), 80-81; Jack K. Williams, *Dueling in the Old South* (College Station, TX, 1980), 26-40; John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800-1861* (Cambridge, MA, 1956), 33-61; Clement Eaton, *The Growth of the Southern Civilization, 1790-1860* (New York, 1961), 275-77; Kenneth Greenberg, *Masters and Statesmen: The Political Culture of American Slavery* (Baltimore, 1985), 23-41, 139-44; and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982), 166-67, 349-61.
3. James T. Campbell, ed., "The Charles Hutchinson Letters from Territorial Tallahassee, 1839-1843," *Apalachee* 4 (1950-1956), 17-18.
4. Leon County, Minutes of the Superior Court, book 1, 463.

powerful Bradford-Eppes-Branch clan by marrying Miss Eliza Branch, daughter of John Branch, a recent settler in Florida and former governor of North Carolina.[5]

In his study of the Second Seminole War, John K. Mahon has contended that Read "habitually dwelt in a medium of violence."[6] There is little in Read's background in Florida to refute this contention. While practicing law in the 1830s, he was involved in a number of violent encounters. In 1833, he clashed with Oscar White in one of the bloodiest duels the territory had ever known. The cause was a heated argument that grew out of the territorial delegate race that pitted White's uncle, Joseph M. White, against Read's mentor, Richard Keith Call. This duel, plus participation as a second in a number of others, earned Read the reputation as a worthy adversary on the field of honor.

After a brief stint as clerk of the Legislative Council, Read joined Governor Call's volunteers and traveled to East Florida to fight the Seminoles. On December 31, 1835, he was wounded in the Battle of Withlacoochee. After a brief recovery, he was elected to command a battalion of Florida militia that served in the campaign of 1836.[7] On May 25, 1836, Read and his unit became heroes when they rescued Captain Holloman and his fifty-eight stranded Jefferson County volunteers at a forgotten outpost on the Withlacoochee River. This incident projected Read into the public eye. He quickly became the "Hero of the Withlacoochee Blockhouse."[8] Subsequent misunderstandings about this affair led to a heated exchange between Read and General Winfield Scott. Read was even reputed to have challenged Scott to a duel.[9]

Call, soon to inherit the governor's chair, recommended to President Andrew Jackson that Read fill the post of brigadier

5. Tallahassee, *Florida Watchman,* May 19, 1838.
6. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967), 153.
7. For Read's early career in the Second Seminole War, see Tallahassee *Floridian,* January 9, 16, Februry 6, 13, 1836; Mahon, *Second Seminole War,* 153-62.
8. Tallahassee *Floridian,* April 23, 30, May 7, 21, 28, June 4, 11, 18, 1836; Richard K. Call to Lewis Cass, June 1, 1836, Governors Office, Letterbooks, 1836-1909, RG 101, ser. 32, vol. 1, not paginated, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.
9. Baltimore *Chronicle,* quoted in St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* July 9, 1836; ibid., May 19, 1836; Tallahassee *Floridian,* June 25, December 31, 1836; Mahon, *Second Seminole War,* 159-67.

general of the Florida militia. Read's strong political views were indicated in a letter from outgoing Governor John Eaton to President Jackson. Eaton warned Jackson that, as a "nullifier," Read was a potentially dangerous man to place at the head of the militia.[10] But Jackson ignored this advice and selected Read anyway.

While still in the militia, Read announced his candidacy to become Florida's delegate to Congress.[11] His brief but successful military career made him an attractive candidate. He also made a good account of himself on the campaign trail. On April 22, 1837, after hearing Read deliver a speech in Apalachicola, the editor of the Apalachicola *Gazette* remarked that Read appeared a "gentleman of highly polished manners, courteous and affable address, and possess[ed] talents and acquirements of the most respectable order." But Read also had his detractors. In a letter to the editor, a citizen of Leon County not only endorsed Read's opponent, Charles Downing, but also contended that Read was unfit for political office. General Read possessed neither oratorical skill, nor "sound judgement." Indeed, in all areas necessary for the successful makeup of a statesman, he was "rather below mediocrity."[12]

Read lost the congressional delegate race to Downing, but the next year he won a seat to represent Leon County at the Florida Constitutional Convention held at St. Joseph. Paradoxically, Read supported a measure calling for the disfranchisement of all those involved in duels– a curious stand when Read's background is considered. Whether Read acted out of deference to David Levy, the Democratic leader who championed the proposal, or out of a sincere belief that dueling should be outlawed is not known. Though the measure did not carry, a slightly altered version of the proposal was adopted in the final draft of the constitution.[13] By far the most volatile issue addressed at the convention was territorial banking policy. The Demo-

10. Governor Eaton to the President, April 10, 1836, in Clarence Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: Territory of Florida*, 26 vols. (Washington, DC, 1934-1962), XXV, 269.
11. Tallahassee *Floridian*, February 25, 1837.
12. Peter Parly, "To the Voters of the Middle District," ibid., April 15, 1837.
13. Arthur Thompson, *Jacksonian Democracy on the Florida Frontier*, University of Florida Monographs, Social Science 9 (Winter 1961), 13; Dorothy Dodd, *Florida Becomes a State* (Tallahassee, 1945), 54, 210-11, 226-27, 316.

crats clearly won the day on this score.[14] And Leigh Read was their new rising star.

The end of the convention marked the beginning of a spirited struggle between the probank Whigs and the antibank Democrats. The antibank faction emerged from the convention a well-organized force in the territory. The Democrats were determined to unseat the Whigs and use their mandate to alter the territory's banking system. The Leon County Democrats put all their efforts into the upcoming Legislative Council election to be held in the fall of 1839. On August 24, they nominated a slate of candidates.[15] Despite the presence of other candidates in the field, citizens in the area focused their main attention on the two most outspoken campaigners– Leigh Read, representing the Democrats, and Dr. William Tradewell, representing the Whigs. One historian, in a study of the emergence of the Democratic party on the Florida frontier, has labeled the 1839 elections as the "first partisan campaign for the Council." The Democrats blamed Florida's bad economic condition on Whig banking policies. Democratic attempts to equate the Whigs with a privileged aristocracy "aroused both concern and scorn."[16] If the campaign was partisan throughout the territory, it also was one of the dirtiest in Leon County history. Each party hurled irresponsible accusations at the opposition. The Leon County race began as an election filled with important political concerns, but degenerated into a bitter campaign in which factions dominated by personalities superseded real issues.

Among all Whig leaders who spoke out against Leigh Read and the Democrats, one man, Augustus Alston, emerged as the most vehement. Alston, a director of the Union Bank of Florida, had come to Florida about 1830 from Hancock County, Georgia, with his father, mother, sisters, and fiery older brother Willis. Like many of the other migrants, the Alstons left successful farms in Georgia with the hope of acquiring even richer cotton lands in Florida. They settled near Lake Miccosukee where they built a large plantation, known throughout the area as "Ingleside," and quickly became successful.

14. Thompson, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 15; Herbert J. Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854*, University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences 1 (Winter 1959), 1-17; Dodd, *Florida Becomes a State*, 65-66, 334-36.
15. St. Augustine *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, September 12, 1839.
16. Thompson, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 18.

Like Read, both Alston brothers served in the territorial militia: Willis as assistant quartermaster and Augustus as colonel. Despite his repeated efforts, Willis's violent personality prevented him from making meaningful advancement in Leon County. After his wife's death in 1835, Willis was frequently on the move. From 1835 to 1841, he divided his time between Middle Florida and Texas, where he had substantial land holdings. The Alstons became well known for their prowess with firearms; both brothers frequently fought duels. Rumors circulated that Willis had killed a Georgia state official, and Augustus had only just recovered from a well-publicized duel fought in the summer of 1837 with fellow bank director George T. Ward.[17]

Day by day the campaign between Read and Tradewell grew more intense. The conservative Whigs realized that the Democrats were trying to cast the struggle in economic terms: a struggle of rich against poor, of aristocracy against democracy. The Whigs reacted to the Loco-Foco menace with contempt. They responded with outbursts like the following: "We are to have a Social Democracy! . . . Men of education, throw open your doors and your hearts to the illiterate, boorish and savage. Men of taste and refinement consort indiscriminately with the vulgar—men of morals with profane; men of sense with the Blockheads."[18] Likewise, the Democrats countered with a series of emotional attacks. On October 5, 1839, about a month before the election, the campaign exploded when Read, during a speech at St. Marks, fired a series of accusations at Tradewell. Hearing of these insults, Tradewell demanded an apology, and when none was offered, he challenged Read to a duel. Perhaps because of his stand on dueling at the Constitutional Convention, Read ignored the challenge. For his refusal to respond, Read received persistent taunts from the Whigs.[19]

During the next two months, Dr. James H. Randolph and Augustus Alston, both prominent Whigs and friends of Tradewell, also challenged Read but were likewise ignored. For refusing to accept their challenges, both men "placarded" Read:

17. James M. Denham, "Dueling in Territorial Middle Florida" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1983), 46-74.
18. Ibid., 66.
19. St. Augustine *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat,* December 5, 1839; Tallahassee *Floridian,* December 21, 1839.

Tradewell on October 26, and Randolph on October 29.[20] The language in both these public notices was severe. The object of this placard, Tradewell wrote, "is to inform the public that General Read has declined giving me an apology for the insult offered me at St. Marks. . . . He has refused me satisfaction which as an honorable man, (refusing to apologize) he was bound to give. I therefore pronounce him a Coward and a Scoundrel." Similarly, Randolph held Read up to the scorn and contempt of the community. He described Read as a man "base enough to do an act of injustice, and mean enough to skulk from the consequences."[21] Read remained firm in his refusal to accept their challenges. By early November, however, the campaign had degenerated into a series of riots and armed confrontations between belligerent partisans. Violence was answered by violence. Both sides invoked violence instead of debate and peaceful persuasion.[22]

Read appreciated the public nature of his quarrel with the Whigs. He realized that he had no choice but to act. If he were to retain his standing in this society, he must fight. Read singled out Augustus Alston, whom he labeled the "great BULL DOG" of the party, as the man most responsible for the ensuing difficulties. In "A Card" to the public, Read wrote, *"I am fully, thoroughly, and perfectly satisfied that but for Col. Augustus Alston, I would never have been posted."*[23] Therefore, on November 24, Read wrote Augustus Alston.

> Sir– I have been informed upon good authority that you were on Friday last, again playing the bully in this place, offering to fight me, etc. If you really want a fight, you

20. A "placard" was a notice posted in a conspicuous place such as outside a courthouse, a country store, or a public meeting place. The placard was important in dueling parlance because it was often used to inform the community of some social malfeasance or dishonorable act of the named individual.
21. In 1938, Leon County officials discovered these two placards in the corner of the vault at the courthouse. See Tallahassee *Democrat,* March 25, 1938. Tallahassee *Star of Florida,* quoted in St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* January 9, 1840. For Read's version of these Whig challenges during the course of the campaign, see Leigh Read, "A Card," November ?, 1839, Branch Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
22. Thompson, *Jacksonian Democracy,* 67.
23. Read, "A Card," Branch Papers.

know better than any man in the county, that you have but to ask it in the right sort of way, and your wishes shall be gratified. I cannot, however, consent to be diddled again by a verbal message, or a bully boast. Put down what you want in writing.

I did hope, however, that . . . if you renewed this affair at all, [you would] enable me to carry it over the line and dispose of it in a quiet, gentlemanly sort of way. Your residence is nearer to my plantation than to Tallahassee, and nearer to the Georgia Line than either, but it seems that your favorite stomping ground is the only place on which you can get your courage up to the sticking point. When you intimate your wishes in writing, the terms shall in charity be made to suit your fancy, at least in some respects. You propose nothing, I am informed, except in the following form– 'Mr. Gaillard and myself will, etc. etc.' I wish you to be assured that I and myself will always be at the service of both when properly called on.[24]

A few days later, Read challenged Alston, and the latter named Yager rifles at fifteen paces. On the morning of December 12, 1839, Augustus Alston, accompanied by Decimus A. Gaillard, his brother-in-law who acted as his second, and Dr. James Randolph, a surgeon, left Miccosukee and headed toward Mannington. This small, isolated communtiy near the Florida-Georgia line had become a popular dueling site since the ongoing boundary dispute between Florida and Georgia made the prosecution of duelists difficult. Read was attended by a Captain Guyon and a Dr. McCormick. The controversy between Read and Alston was widely followed in Leon County. A large number of partisans traveled to Mannington to witness the affair. Alston, probably because of his superior marksmanship, seemed unafraid. Insisting to his family that all was well, he directed his wife and sisters to prepare a "sumptuous dinner" for him and his friends for their hourly return.[25]

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24. St. Augustine *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, January 9, 1840.
25. Jerrell Shofner, *History of Jefferson County* (Tallahassee, 1976), 157; Henry E. Palmer, "Physicians of Early Tallahassee," *Apalachee* 1 (1944), 3; Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes: or Florida New and Old* (Jacksonville, 1883; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1962), 212-13.

The terms of the duel were precise. The principals were to stand at fifteen paces, back to back. At the word "wheel" they were to turn and, during the count of "one, two, three, four," to fire. Instructions also stipulated that the "fight shall continue until both parties are fully satisfied, or are so disabled that he cannot continue it, and his disability to be determined by both surgeons."[26] At the direction of their seconds, the adversaries assumed their back-to-back positions and heard the order, "wheel." Before the third count, Alston, apparently in overconfident haste, slipped as he fired. His rifle ball ripped harmlessly through the oaks behind Read. With his fate sealed, Alston clutched his rifle close to his heart while Read faced him. Read took careful aim and sent a ball through Alston's chest. Alston died instantly.

Later Read defended his killing of Alston on the following grounds: First, Alston demanded that the duel take place within twenty-four hours after the settlement of the preliminaries– a demand that prevented Read from securing his preferred seconds. Second, Alston chose Yager rifles at fifteen paces, knowing full well "I was in principle opposed to the rifle, and that my right wrist has been so disabled that I could not fight with that weapon with any prospect of success. He on the contrary was a first rate shot." Finally, Read asserted that the rules stipulated that the duel would continue until "both surgeons" certify that one of the parties was so disabled that the duel could not continue. Alston's surgeon was Dr. James Randolph. He, Read reminded his critics, was a "party to the quarrel, and one of the authors of it. My friends objected to both the article and the surgeon; but they would yield nothing, and there was no course left for me but to kill him if I could."[27]

Read killed Alston within the exact rules of the encounter. Yet given the makeup and lifestyle of the Alston family, few believed they would let the affair die with their brother. According to legend, the Alston sisters cut out the bullet from Augustus's body and sent it to their brother Willis in Texas to be used on Read.[28] Whether the macabre act occurred or not, when Wil-

26. Leigh Read to General T. S. Brown, December 20, 1839, in St. Augustine Florida *Herald and Southern Democrat*, May 7, 1841.
27. Ibid.
28. Long, *Florida Breezes,* 213.

lis heard of his brother's death, he returned immediately to Tallahassee to inquire into the exact circumstances of the killing.

Meanwhile, it was learned that Read's campaign had been successful. In the brief time between the duel and opening of the legislative session, citizens in Tallahassee speculated on what the next few weeks would bring. On December 17, five days after the duel, local Whigs gathered at Tallahassee's City Hotel. They took "into consideration the affecting circumstances" of Alston's death. Seven resolutions were passed lamenting the loss of his honorable life. Resolutions decrying the resort to violence to settle differences were conspicuously absent.[29]

Read's political stock was never higher. On January 1, 1840, six days before the legislative session began (possibly as tacit approval of his duel with Alston), Read was selected chairman of Leon County's Democratic party.[30] Over the next several weeks, a number of concerned citizens asked Read how he could reconcile his position on dueling at the St. Joseph convention and his affair with Alston. For Read, the demands of honor outweighed all legal considerations. He defended his duel with Alston by invoking the age-old dictum that necessity knows no law. "I have done my utmost to adjust my views and feelings to the new Constitution, but I could not get over a fight in this case," he replied.[31] This, indeed, was the problem. Read knew his duel with Alston was illegal, yet public opinion outweighed all legal and moral implications of the act. As a brigadier general in the territorial militia, Read realized that further avoidance of the dueling ground would have suggested cowardice. Not to fight would have jeopardized his troops' loyalty.

But Read's duel with Alston solved nothing. It only further exacerbated hostility between both parties. Now even more than before, the territory was hopelessly divided into openly belligerent Whig and Democratic factions. While this political confusion raged, Willis Alston returned to Tallahassee from Texas on the afternoon of January 5, 1840. The legislative session was to begin the next day, and the town was crowded with legislators and other visitors. Nevertheless, Willis Alston was able to secure

29. Tallahassee *Floridian*, December 21, 1839.
30. Ibid., January 4, 1840.
31. Read to Brown, December 20, 1839, in St. Augustine *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, January 9, 1840; ibid., May 7, 1841.

lodging in Tallahassee's City Hotel. Read was also present there. As the guests were being seated for supper, a violent encounter erupted between Alston and Read. According to one witness, both men recognized one another and "hostile glance[s]" were exchanged. Alston drew a pistol and fired, hitting Read in the side. Though temporarily dazed, Read chased Alston toward the door with a cane and pistol, firing at Alston and wounding him in the hand. Then as the weakened Read fell into the hands of his friends, Alston returned, stabbed Read severely in the abdomen with a bowie knife, and fled.[32]

Immediately following the assault, Samuel S. Sibley and Turbott Betton, both justices of the peace and witnesses to the fight, issued warrants for Alston's arrest. That same evening, with the town in an uproar, newly appointed Governor Robert Raymond Reid summoned both a federal army force and the local militia to help capture Alston, but to no effect.[33] In the subsequent weeks, Alston successfully eluded all efforts to bring him to justice.

On the day following the Read-Alston encounter, the Legislative Council met, and with the Democrats in the majority, the body selected the critically wounded Read as its speaker. When notified of this honorary gesture, Read immediately penned an expression of gratitude to his Democratic friends. "Gentlemen: I have received with the deepest sensitivity, a communication from the committee of your body, informing me that I had been elected by you, your presiding officer. Under any circumstances, to have received such a token of the respect and confidence of my fellow citizens, would have been to me a source of gratification and pride, but under the particular circumstances in which I am placed, I can not find the terms adequate to the expression of my grateful emotions. Although I am prevented by the state of my wounds from accepting the high trust your favorable regard has assigned me . . . the expression of your confidence in myself will be to me a subject of unceasing grateful recollec-

32. "Correspondence of the News," in St. Augustine *News*, January 24, 1840; Tallahassee *Floridian*, January 11, 1840; St. Joseph *Times*, January 22, 1840; St. Augustine *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, January 30, 1840; Fernandina *Florida Mirror*, March 29, 1879.

33. Erasmus D. Bullock to Governor Reid, January 5, 1840, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXVI, 47.

tion."[34] Reads phrase "under the particular circumstances in which I am placed" meant that he realized the duel and subsequent events had not made him a political liability, and he was grateful.

Read's supporters were relieved to learn that his wounds, though serious, were not mortal. Governor Reid, a political ally, wrote Read that he was comforted in the belief that "God in his mercy has again saved your life, and we may humbly infer that there is some happy destiny in store for you, which may not be defeated by malice and assassination." Governor Reid promised to visit Read when "a free conversation might [not] agitate or injure" him.[35] Remarkably, after a month of convalescence, Read had recovered enough to attend the last few meetings of the Legislative Council. Meanwhile, Willis Alston waited for another opportunity to murder Read. If Alston were desperate, so was Read. Read could never drop his vigil and traveled about heavily armed, always in constant readiness. Throughout the session he carried a weapon, even on the House floor.

On January 12, just seven days after Read's assault, an obviously disturbed Governor Reid addressed the Legislative Council. Prohibitions against dueling were inadequate. The governor admonished the legislators to amend existing laws with "a care commensurate with the known evasions of all statutory regulations upon this subject." Dueling had no place in a civilized society. "The experiences of every day shows," he said, "that all its influences are evil; it ministers to bad passions; exults in bloody triumph over the laws of the land and entails unspeakable distress upon hapless widows and innocent children." In closing, the governor referred specifically to the outrageous incident perpetrated during the past week. "The outrage recently committed upon the whole community and upon the person of the gentlemen who was subsequently honored by the House of Representatives, in his appointment to the chair of that body, cannot be too much deplored; as also, the fact, that the offender has not been arrested, and brought to answer to the laws for their signal violations. Is it to be tolerated, that in this country, and at this time of day; resort is had to the most atrocious

34. Tallahassee *Floridian,* January 11, 1840.
35. Robert Raymond Reid to Read, January 9, 1840, Branch Papers.

weapons, and the revenger, lifts his 'red right arm' in defiance of all authority both human and divine?" Reid declared that "public indignation as well as the law" must be relied upon to "bring the community back to the paths of peace and good order."[36]

In response to Governor Reid's call, several members of the Legislative Council sponsored another antidueling bill. The effort was altogether preposterous. The bill proposed to disfranchise anyone involved in a duel. If anyone was killed in the duel, all survivors were to be hanged and their heirs would be compelled to pay the debts of the deceased plus, if applicable, a pension to his surviving widow. The bill never passed. Editor Samuel Sibley of the Democratically aligned Tallahassee *Floridian* labeled the bill "the most ridiculous tissue of crudities and fudgeries ever sanctioned by a grave legislative body." Legal enactments alone were insufficient. "Preventatives can only be found in the moral influence of enlightened public opinion. That is the only corrective, because for those who uphold dueling, laws are of course useless."[37] Sibley realized that the tradition was beyond the law, embedded in the minds of individuals as an honorable remedy against insult. Unless people changed their values, laws to prohibit dueling would be futile.

What Sibley should have said was that the territory already had laws on the books that, if enforced equally against all offenders, would have discouraged dueling. The criminal code of 1829 and 1832 contained tough provisions against the practice but were continually evaded by those with power and influence. Until the public censured those who chose not to abide by the law, little could be expected from any new laws.

Read's crowning moment as a Democratic leader came during the final days of the legislative session. On March 3, the Democratic party caucus selected him chairman.[38] Upon adjournment of the Council, Read proceeded at once to St. Augustine as a commissioner to examine the books of the St. Augustine Life and Trust Bank.[39] When Read returned to Tallahassee, he learned that he had been put in command of a special unit of

36. Robert Reid, "Message to the Legislative Council," January 12, 1840; Florida, *House Journal* (1840), 16.
37. Tallahassee *Floridian,* February 22, 1840.
38. Ibid., March 7, 1840.
39. St. Augustine *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat,* April 9, 1840.

1,500 volunteers, ordered to protect settlements west of the Suwannee River.[40] Then on May 22, 1840, President Martin Van Buren appointed Read United States Marshal for the Middle District of Florida. These appointments came shortly before the presidential election of 1840 that pitted Van Buren against the Whig candidate, William Henry Harrison. The selection of the Democrat Read as marshal was another blow to the Whigs who hoped their man, Deputy Minor Walker, would fill the vacancy.[41] Former Governor William P. Duval complained to a friend in Congress that Read's appointment was a blatant political maneuver by the Van Buren administration calculated to gain the confidence of John Branch, Read's father-in-law, so that the old Tarheel would help sway North Carolina in Van Buren's favor. Duval also had serious doubts about Read's ability to serve impartially in such a time of political instability. Read was a "man of violent passions and prejudices," and worse, was a "professed Duelisto [sic] who had been engaged in some of the most bloody and savage contests that ever occurred in any country." Moreover, Read's appointment, Duval contended, "united . . . civil power & the military . . . in the same individual"—something that should never be done "except in the case of the president and governors of states & Territories."[42]

On April 3, 1840, just as Read was assuming his new military duties, newly appointed federal Judge Alfred Balch wrote Van Buren that the "condition of this territory is deplorable. The leading men are divided into bitter parties and violence is the order of the day. Heretofore the Banking influence has been predominant, but now the most determined resistance is made to it and in fact it is tottering to its very foundations as well it may since the paper of the Union Bank here is 25 per cent below Virginia paper and Virginia paper is 8 per cent below specie." The situation in the capital was extremely tense because the Legislative Council's banking committee had made an unfavorable report on Florida's banking system and recommended its dismantlement.[43]

40. St. Augustine *News*, August 14, 1840.
41. Recommendation of Minor Walker as United States Marshal, February 2, 1841, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXVI, 252-54.
42. William P. Duval to B. Penrose, February 19, 1841, ibid., 272-73.
43. Judge Balch to the President, April 3, 1840, ibid., 128-29; Thompson, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 27-28.

From March 1840 until April 1841, when his volunteer unit was disbanded, Read concentrated on his duties as brigadier general. Read's critics charged that "General Humbug" and his "Sedentary Infantry" were more interested in advancing Read's political career than they were in moving against the Seminoles.[44] Meanwhile, Read was neglecting his duties as United States Marshal. His only official act was to force Willis Alston to find sureties and take out a peace bond, swearing that he would not attempt to "avenge" his brother's death.[45]

Alston returned to Tallahassee in June 1840, and soon after his arrival, he wrote the governor, complaining that Reid's reference to him in the January address had done him grave injustice. Remarkably, Reid answered Alston in written form, but the fugitive's refusal to accept the letter ended the correspondence.[46] Evidence suggests that Alston even threatened Reid with physical abuse. On March 13, 1840, the St. Augustine *News* reported, perhaps jokingly, that Alston had threatened to cut off Reid's ears. In this highly agitated political atmosphere, charges and countercharges were exchanged between Read, Alston, and their supporters. Robert Alston, the fugitive's father, maintained that since the fight at the City Hotel, Read and other "high public functionaries [of his party] instead of honestly performing their duties, have prostituted the power and influence of their offices for the purpose of private revenge." The Van Buren administration had placed "executive civil power in the hands of a military chieftain– giving him the means of coercing the courts and jurors, forcing convictions and decisions, and carrying them into effect by a hired soldiery." Worst of all, Robert Alston published an affidavit to prove that at the same time Read had forced his son to take out a peace bond, he was plotting to have Willis assassinated.[47]

44. St. Augustine *News*, January 1, 8, 15, 22, August 28, 1840.
45. Bond of Willis Alston, R. W. Alston, Minor Walker, and Thomas Brown, August 28, 1840, Document A and C in "To the Public" [Statement of R. W. Alston] in Tallahassee *Star of Florida*, September 29, 1840, quoted in St. Augustine News, October 23, 1840.
46. Warren G. Foracker, "The Administration of Robert Raymond Reid" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1949), 118; Apalachicola *Advocate*, August 15, 1840.
47. Affidavit of Augustus Archer before Joshua McCan, justice of the peace of Thomas County, Georgia, September 1, 1840, Document C in "To the Public," quoted in St. Augustine News, October 23, 1840. Archer later

Alston remained in the Tallahassee community, and with the help of his friends, evaded attempts to bring him to justice. His boisterous activities contributed to the constant civil disorder throughout the summer of 1840. Alston, it was soon learned, even planned to run for a seat in the Legislative Council.[48]

When Florida Democrats learned of William Henry Harrison's election as president, most expected that the new Whig administration would replace all key federal appointees. They were not disappointed. Richard Keith Call replaced Robert R. Reid as governor, and Minor Walker replaced Leigh Read as United States Marshal for the Middle District. Then, on April 26, 1841, what seemed inevitable finally occurred– Willis Alston murdered Leigh Read. There are several versions of how Read's murder was carried out, each reflecting the partisan character that by now the Alston-Read affair had assumed. According to the account set forth by Colonel Robert Williams, Reads brother-in-law, Alston ambushed Read as he and Minor Walker walked down Monroe Street toward the courthouse. Read and Walker's purpose was to transfer official papers so that Walker could be sworn in as marshal. As the two made their way toward the courthouse, Willis Alston secretly positioned himself in the house of Michael Ledwith, a business associate. As Walker and Read passed by, Alston stepped out of the shadows and opened fire on Read, only a few yards away, with a double-barreled shotgun loaded with slugs and pistol bullets.[49] Read received the

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denied the veracity of this affidavit, stating that Alston's friends had forced him to sign the prepared statement under threat of his life. Archer further swore that on a number of occasions Alston and "several distinguished leaders of the [Bank] Party" had pledged "money" and "negroes" if he would assassinate Read. On one occasion, Willis Alston himself had "exhibit[ed] his Pocket Book, containing large rolls of Union Bank bills." Statement of Augustus Archer, November 25, 1840, Branch Papers.

48. Denham, "Dueling in Territorial Middle Florida," 83-89.

49. Union Bank president John G. Gamble, in a letter to President John Tyler, bitterly challenged this account of the murder since it suggested that his friend Minor Walker had forewarned Alston and therefore had led Read into a trap. Gamble cited evidence to prove that Walker was not in town at the time of the killing. Gamble, however, offered no other account in its place. See John G. Gamble to the President, June 9, 1841, Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXVI, 330-34. On May 22, 1841, Secretary of State Daniel Webster informed Walker that "the murder of General Read at Tallahassee, apparently perpetrated with so much deliberation of purpose, is calculated to produce very strong excitement. The President is not disposed at the moment, to form any unfavorable opinion of your conduct, or of the

full brunt of both blasts. A number of bystanders dragged Read into Joseph Branch's law office, but Alston's assault was lethal. Read died early the next morning.[50]

After giving himself up, Alston stayed in jail for two months awaiting trial. Due to the help of prominent friends, combined with an absence of strong federal authority, Alston was released on bail.[51] He fled to Texas and within a year became involved in another bloody encounter with an influential citizen in the

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conduct of those who appear to be among your friends; but he thinks it absolutely indispensable, that the trial of the accused should be conducted in such a manner as to leave no possible ground of suspicion in the public mind that justice will have its due course." Secretary of State to Minor Walker, May 22, 1841, ibid., 314. For Judge Richard C. Allen's account of the affair, see Judge Allen to Minor Walker, June 10, 1841, ibid., 336-38. The president appointed John Camp in Walker's place.

50. Inquest Over the Body of Leigh Read, April 27, 1841, Miscellaneous Territorial Papers, MS 148, Dorothy Dodd Room, Florida State Library, Tallahassee; Tallahassee *Floridian,* May 1, 1841; St. Augustine *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat,* May 7, 1841; St. Augustine *News,* May 13, 1841; New Orleans *Picayune,* May 8, 1841.

51. Judge Richard C. Allen had continually denied Alston bail, but in his and the district attorney's absence, three justices of the peace granted Alston bail on June 5. John G. Camp to the Secretary of State, June 7, 1841, Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXVI, 327-29. In an effort to defend themselves against what the Tallahassee *Floridian* on June 12, 1841, called "one of the greatest outrages in law and justice that ever took place in the United States," the JPs published a number of affidavits to suggest that Alston had merely killed Read in self defense. Read, evidence indicated, had plotted with a number of individuals to have Alston assassinated. "With all these facts before us we thought Willis Alston entitled to bail, and we granted it conscientiously," they contended. [John Lea and David Brown] "To the Public," July 20, 1841, in Tallahassee *Star,* quoted in St. Augustine *News,* August 27, 1841. Thomas Hagner was a member of the law firm employed to defend Alston. Writing his father in Washington, he explained that his firm was preparing a plea of self defense. Thomas Hagner to Peter Hagner, May 1, 1841, Peter Hagner Papers, Southern Historical Collection. For Hagner's account of Alston's release on bail, see Thomas Hagner to Peter Hagner, June 14, 1841, ibid. When Governor Call learned that the JPs' commissions had expired, he issued a proclamation for the arrest of Willis Alston, June 16, 1841, in Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXVI, 346; Tallahassee *Floridian,* July 24, 1841; Tallahassee *Star of Florida,* July 14, 1841; St. Augustine *News,* July 23, 1841; St. Augustine *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat,* July 30, 1841. When Alston failed to appear in court on December 27, 1841, a writ of *scire facias* was issued against him and his sureties. Leon County, Minutes of the Superior Court, 1841-1843, book 3, 44, 113. Both Lea and Brown were prosecuted unsuccessfully for "Aiding a Prisoner to Escape." See ibid., 528-29. For more on the confused aftermath of Read's murder, see Denham, "Dueling in Territorial Middle Florida," 92-102.

community of Brazoria. The controversy began when Dr. John McNeil Stewart, reputedly a native of Tallahassee and friend of Leigh Read, began speaking out against the killer and calling for his arrest and removal from the Republic of Texas. Once he was apprised of Stewart's activities, Alston sought out Stewart and demanded an explanation. When Alston confronted Stewart about a mile from Brazoria, ensuing gunfire left Stewart dead and Alston severely wounded. Alston was taken into custody, and a magistrate jailed him to await the meeting of a grand jury. That same evening an angry mob overpowered the sheriff, took Alston out of the jail, and shot him.[52]

With Alston's departure from Florida, events moved quickly toward the prosecution of Michael Ledwith as an accomplice in Read's murder. In such a highly charged atmosphere, many doubted that Ledwith could obtain a fair trial. Nevertheless, the trial proceeded, and Ledwith was convicted to hang on March 18, 1842.[53] But in a highly controversial move, Governor Call pardoned Ledwith. This action caused bitter protests against Call, especially from Read's father-in-law, John Branch, who charged that Call was somehow involved in a conspiracy and had pardoned Ledwith to silence him. The Whigs responded to Branch's charges by claiming that he had gone insane.[54]

The news of Alston's death and Ledwith's close brush with the gallows had a sobering effect on Tallahassee. The Read-Alston affair and its bloody aftermath ended dueling in Middle Florida. The tragic event, along with its final ramifications, had

52. Austin *Daily Bulletin,* December 22, 31, 1841; Washington *National Intelligencer,* January 12, 1842; "Troubles in Brazoria County," Austin *Daily Texan,* January 13, 1842; St. Augustine *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat,* January 21, February 11, 1842; St. Augustine *News,* January 22, February 12, 1842.

53. Ledwith was indicted in December 1841. The lengthy trial called over eighteen witnesses, and the jury required more than two weeks to reach a verdict of guilty. See Leon County, Minutes of the Superior Court, 1841-1843, book 3, 113, 265, 336. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel,* February 18, 1842; Tallahassee *Star of Florida,* February 19, 1842; St Augustine *News,* March 5, 1842; Judge Douglas to the Secretary of State, Febraury 12, 1842, Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXVI, 434-35.

54. Proclamation of Pardon of Michael Ledwith, March 11, 1842, Office of the Governor, Letterbooks, 1836-1909, RG 101, ser. 32, vol. 2, no pagination, Florida State Archives; [John Branch] "To Richard K. Call, Governor of the Territory of Florida," in Tallahassee *Floridian,* April 2, 1842. For the Whig response, see Tallahassee *Star of Florida,* March 17, 24, 31, April 7, 14, 21, 1842.

a marked influence on the leading citizens in the region. The public was shocked by the civil disorder and violence in their community. Numerous editorials revealed sharply altered sentiments. To fight a duel was no longer heroic; personal vendettas were insane, not valiant; and the finality of death was irreversible. The public reaction against dueling was enough of a deterrent to dissuade gentlemen from resorting to the field of honor in settling disputes with their peers. In the three remaining years, 1842-1845, before Florida became a state, the advice of community leaders who had always spoken out against dueling began to have a moderating influence on public opinion. In addition, strong, impartial judicial leadership enhanced public respect for the law. The public began showing signs that they were determined not to tolerate such barbarous behavior.

After Reads tragic death, a number of concerned Floridians called for legislative enactments to end what Peter Gautier of the St. Joseph *Times* called the "Florida fever for duelling." But in the end, it was enlightened public opinion as voiced by Florida's editorial fraternity that had the greatest impact. In response to the Read-Alston duel, editor Gautier decried, thus "another dark and bloody page is added to the domestic history of Florida. Is there no path to honor– no stepping stone to ambition but that which leads over the dead body of the fallen duelist? Is there not atonement for private wrongs, but in single combat?" Would that "public appetite, ever seeking for excitement and blood," continue to "look on calmly and with no condemnation at these open and repeated violations of the laws of God and of men?"[55] James Gould of the St. Augustine *Florida Herald* also called for an end to dueling. He contended that killing someone in a duel constituted murder, "not in heat, but after cool deliberation." Thus the "duelist may be properly classified with persons guilty of infamous crimes. Civilized society should provide a remedy for the wrongs of all its members; private revenge is attributable to the savage." Let the "insult to our wife; our sister; or our honor . . . be punished by society; and let public disgrace be attached to the bravo's trade."[56] Here it should be noted that ultrapartisan journalism had been par-

55. St. Joseph *Times,* quoted in Pensacola *Gazette,* December 21, 1839.
56. St. Augustine *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat,* April 11, 1839.

tially responsible for the high-charged atmosphere that had inspired continued outbreaks of political violence. But an articulate Florida press should also be credited with leading public opinion in the direction of reform. As if they finally realized the power of their pen, Samuel Sibley, Gautier, Gould, and others restrained the passionate partisanship that had instigated so much violence and hard feelings.

Although the Whig-Democrat struggle continued for several more years, each faction diluted the venom of their political messages. Volatile political issues were addressed in a much more responsible manner. Guns and knives remained as arbiters, but their respectability was gone forever. In the short time following Read's murder, violence remained prevalent. But it was clear that the institution of dueling had lost its silent approval and its covert popularity.

A WEST POINT GRADUATE IN THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR: WILLIAM WARREN CHAPMAN AND THE VIEW FROM FORT FOSTER

Edited by EDWARD C. COKER AND DANIEL L. SCHAFER

IN the fall of 1837, Second Lieutenant William Warren Chapman departed from Old Point Comfort, Virginia, bound for Florida on the *Caladonia Brander*.[1] An 1837 graduate of West Point, he was en route to the Second Seminole War in Florida. After arriving at Fort Brooke in Tampa Bay on October 27, 1837, he was assigned to Company B, Second Artillery which had orders to regarrison Fort Foster. Located twenty-one miles north of Tampa Bay on the military road from Fort Brooke to Fort King, Fort Foster protected the bridge over the Hillsborough River and served as a supply depot for the forts to the north.[2] Initially, Chapman was appointed assistant commissary

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1. William Chapman was born January 31, 1814, Springfield, Massachusetts. He graduated from West Point in 1837. The letters in this article were written by Chapman to his fiance, Helen Blair, born April 4, 1817, in Westfield, Massachusetts, died December 12, 1881, Columbia, South Carolina. The Chapman family letters have passed down through five generations of descendants and are presently in the possession of a great-great-grandson, Edward C. Coker.

   The letters have been presented here in their original form unless otherwise indicated. Only those portions that were repetitious or were not relative to Florida affairs at the time have been removed. Because of space limitations, the greetings and salutations have been omitted after the representative examples in the first letter. Assisting with the historical editing of the Chapman letters were students in the 1989 Local History Seminar at the University of North Florida: Carol Smith, Michael Warren, Richard Gustavson, Albert Franson, and Henry Strickland.
2. Fort Foster was originally Fort Alabama which the Army built in March 1836 and abandoned April 26, 1836. The Indians subsequently destroyed it. In November and December 1836, Lieutenant Colonel William S. Foster and 320 men rebuilt the fort and bridge over the Hillsborough River. The work was completed in late December 1836 when General Thomas S. Jesup inspected and renamed it. The fort was abandoned a second time in June 1837, and it was rebuilt that November with the arrival of Chapman and

of subsistence and quartermaster in November and later also served as post commander for Fort Foster from early April until his departure May 4, 1838.[3] While in Florida, Chapman wrote often to his fiance, Helen Ellsworth Blair of Westfield, Massachusetts, telling of the war, the rebuilding of Fort Foster, and the illnesses and desperate loneliness of soldiers serving in the Second Seminole War.

Before Chapman arrived in Florida, the war had gone badly for the Army and local militia forces.[4] Its origins lay deep in Florida history; in fact, war seemed inevitable as soon as land-hungry Americans began moving into Florida after the Spanish government ceded the province to the United States in 1821. Only three years earlier, Andrew Jackson had commanded a punishing invasion of Spanish Florida that devastated the Indian villages west of the Suwannee River. Clustered near the Flint River had been many villages of Mikasuki under the defiant leadership of Chief Neamathla.[5] Nearby and stretching to the banks of the Suwannee were the villages of the Alachua, led by Chief Bowlegs who had been driven west by other land-hungry Americans during the 1812-1813 invasions known as the Patriot Rebellion.[6] Descendants of bands of Lower Creeks from central and southern Georgia, they had begun moving into Florida after English colonists from South Carolina had killed or enslaved most of north Florida's indigenous Indians during the colonial phase of Queen Anne's War in 1701-1713. They

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his force. The fort, located in present-day Hillsborough State Park on Highway 301 north of Tampa, Florida, has been reconstructed by the Florida Department of Natural Resources, Division of Recreation and Parks. The DNR's pamphlet, *History lives in Florida* (January 1988) provides information on Fort Foster.

3. As quartermaster, Chapman was the military officer in charge of administering rations, provisions, and supplies. The precise date he assumed command of Fort Foster is uncertain, but his letters suggest that it occurred in late March or early April 1838 after illness had debilitated other officers.
4. For historical information on the war, see John Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967; revised ed., 1985); John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1847; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964); and George S. Buker, *Swamp Sailor: Riverine Warfare in the Everglades, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1975).
5. Chief Neamathla was also known as John Hicks.
6. See Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco* (Athens, 1954); and Kenneth W. Porter, "Negroes and the East Florida Annexation Plot, 1811-1813," *Journal of Negro History* 30 (January 1945), 9-29.

From a portrait of William Warren Chapman, ca. 1840. *Photographs from the collection of Edward C. Coker.*

retained the independent town structures of the Creeks and named some of them for the towns from which they had migrated: Mikasuki, Tallahassee, Apalachichola, Tamathli, Hitchiti, and others. Interspersed among these Lower Creek bands were

approximately 1,000 Red Stick warriors who had migrated with their families from Alabama following Andrew Jackson's crushing defeat of the Upper Creeks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend on the Tallapoosa River in 1814.[7] Other bands of Upper Creeks settled near Tampa Bay.

After decades of absence from the councils of the Creeks, the Florida Indians had developed their own traditions by 1821 and were commonly known as Seminoles or "breakaways" or "pioneers" from the Creeks. Although they still shared a common culture and spoke either Hitchiti or Muskogee, the two major language groups of the Creek Confederation, the Seminoles had developed intense hatred for their northern cousins based on the latter's alliances with Andrew Jackson during the wars of 1812-1814 and 1817-1818.

Representatives of the new American government signed treaties with the Seminole leaders in 1823 at Moultrie Creek, south of St. Augustine, and again in 1832 at Paynes Landing on the Oklawaha River. The first established a 4,000,000-acre reserve in south Florida for exclusive Indian settlement and included promises of financial support for twenty years. It was apparent, however, that the ultimate goal of white Floridians was total removal of the Indians. These settlers became so confident that Seminoles were powerless that a treaty signed in 1832 called for total removal within three years. In an 1834 conference, however, Indian leaders made it clear that they intended to resist removal.

A crucial issue at the 1834 conference was the ultimate fate of the blacks living among the Seminoles.[8] Decades prior to the American accession, the Seminole bands had begun incorporating slave runaways from plantations north of the Spanish bor-

7. See Frank L. Owsley, Jr., *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans, 1812-1815* (Gainesville, 1981).

8. The story of the black Seminoles is recounted by Kenneth W. Porter, "Florida Slaves and Free Negroes," and "John Caesar: Seminole Negro Partisan," in *Journal of Negro History* 31 (April 1946), 190-207; "Negroes and the Seminole War, 1817-1818," ibid. 36 (July 1951), 249-80; "The Negro Abraham," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 25 (July 1946), 1-43; and George Klos, "Blacks and the Seminole Removal Debate, 1821-1835," ibid. 68 (July 1989), 55-78. See also J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln, 1986), and Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., *Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War* (Westport, CT, 1979).

der, prompting much of the hostility and invasion sentiment that culminated with Jackson in 1818. White settlers hotly charged in 1834 that the Seminoles continued to offer safe haven to slave runaways and demanded their return. Conflict centered on which slaves were recent runaways and which were longtime members of the Seminole bands. In addition, Seminole warriors had legitimately purchased black slaves, a practice dating back to their days in the Creek councils. Since re-enslavement under white Floridians would have meant forfeiture of a quasi-independent existence, it is not surprising that the blacks were militant exponents of resistance.

The inevitable war finally came November 26, 1835. The Florida militia was called out as fighting erupted first in the Alachua vicinity. By the end of 1835, Seminole warriors had destroyed the prosperous sugar plantations south of St. Augustine and had conducted a highly successful concerted strike against Fort King and against a relief column marching north from Fort Brooke at Tampa Bay. Only three survived from the convoy of 108 officers and infantrymen under the ill-fated leadership of Major Francis L. Dade. In January of 1836, another sixteen plantations were destroyed by Seminole warriors, and numbers of slave runaways joined the Indian ranks. White refugees flocked into the towns of St. Augustine and Jacksonville, bringing with them their slaves to protect them from the raiders. Crowded into the settlements behind hastily prepared defenses and fearful of internal slave rebellions, the Florida settlers were in a precarious state.

For the remainder of 1836, the war went badly for the whites. Commanded first by Governor Richard Keith Call and next by Major General Winfield Scott, the forces of regulars and militia volunteers had little success. Secure in the remote woods and swamps, the Seminoles conducted guerrilla-style warfare against an enemy poorly trained for such fighting. Refugee centers added in 1836 included Newnansville, Garey's Ferry, and Middleburg.

Brevet Major General Thomas Sidney Jesup assumed command in December 1836 and adopted a strategy that proved successful. Dividing his forces into small and highly mobile detachments, he pressured the Seminoles constantly. Burning villages and farm fields and pursuing the Indians relentlessly, Jesup's troops forced defectors to come into army camps. At a

series of councils some of the chiefs seemed willing to cooperate in the removal policy. At one point 700 defectors were encamped at Tampa Bay under leaders Micanopy and Jumper. But again a conflict over the ultimate fate of the black Seminoles led the defectors to return to the woods and to the war.

The first major break came in September 1837 when General Joseph Hernandez, led by a slave defector, captured the band of King Philip south of St. Augustine. Before month's end, the list of captives included the leaders Yuchi Billy, Yuchi Jack, Coacoochee, and Blue Snake, along with their followers. In October, the militant Red Stick leader Osceola was captured, along with Coahadjo and seventy-five warriors. Controversy raged in the northern press about Jesup's orders to capture these leaders after announcing that they would parley under flags of truce. But Floridians rejoiced; for the first time in nearly two years they were optimistic that the war would soon end and the Seminoles would be exiled to Arkansas territory.

It was amidst this optimism that William Chapman arrived in Florida. While reporting on the war, he repeatedly stated that Indian resistance was futile and that the war would soon end. Little did he realize when he sailed for New Orleans on May 8, 1838, that the war would continue for another four years.

Old Point Comfort, Virginia,
September 23, 1837

My dearest Helen,

Your very sweet letter I have just received, and I hasten with great pleasure to answer it. . . . Dear Helen, the time seems long before I shall again see you but I daily and hourly look forward to that period with delight. God grant that the separation may be shorter than I now expect it will be. . . .

You need have no fears, my dear Helen, about my heart for I assure you that it will never be affected except by the bright eyes of New England. The ladies of the Old Dominion are indeed very pretty, but I have discovered no Helens among them. . . .

With Fort Monroe, I am very much pleased. We enjoy life here finely. Oysters, clams and fish we have in abundance and I have actually grown very fat in a week. If I go on at the rate I have commenced, I shall, soon be designated as the "fat Lieutenant." I never was in better health and spirits in my life.

From a portrait of Helen Ellsworth Blair Chapman, ca. 1840.

Our duties are pretty hard at present as we are fitting the troops for Florida. I have command of a company of 65 men. I am allowed an orderly who keeps with me all the time ready to obey my slightest wishes: besides him, I keep a valet. . . .

There has been one resignation in our Regiment since I came here and thereby I have risen one peg.

A detachment of 500 men and 13 officers are to sail from here for Tampa Bay, Florida the 25th of this month, or next Monday morning; and I am happy to inform you that I am among the number. I was not at first detailed to go with this detachment but being very anxious to get into the field and wishing to go to Tampa Bay, it being the headquarters of the Army, I applied to General Eustis for permission to go which he readily granted. . . . We shall probably be about 15 days going and we anticipate a delightful voyage. Hooker goes with us. He has gone to Norfolk today to purchase some books and chessmen to render the voyage still more pleasant. So Helen, you may hereafter direct your letters to Tampa Bay, East Florida: put under my name also 2nd Reg. Arty, U. S. Army. . . . [9]

About 8,000 troops are ordered to Florida, and it is the opinion of all the officers here, many of whom served in Florida last year, that the Indians will come in willingly or if not that they will be forced in and the war closed in two or three months; and then I shall return to my sweet Helen, and kiss her 1,000 times. . . .

Goodbye, my dearest Helen,
Ever your very affectionate, William

Ship Caladonia Brander, One mile off Old Point Comfort,
September 27, 1837

We are about to sail and General Eustis is on board to inspect the troops for the last time. He has just inspected my company and I seize the few moments that he may be occupied inspecting the others to write to her who is ever uppermost in my mind.

Oh, Helen, we have a most delightful ship and our cabin is furnished equal to any parlor besides we all have state rooms. . . .

9. Brevet Brigadier Abraham Eustis was ordered to Florida to assume temporary command until Brevet Major General Winfield Scott arrived. Eustis reached St. Augustine February 15, 1836. In March 1838, Eustis took command in the Suwannee region. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 138, 156, 164, 233, 238; and Sprague, *Florida War,* 106, 116, 122. Joseph Hooker was a West Point classmate of Chapman. Hooker distinguished himself in the Mexican War and in the Civil War; briefly he was commander of the Army of the Potomac.

I am second in command [of the detachment] on board this ship. Major Kirby is commander. . . .[10]

This is a ship of the largest class and has been for many years a Liverpool packet.[11] It is a most elegant vessel and manned by 24 experienced sailors. The accommodations for the officers are everything we could wish; and besides we expect to live well as the Captain has on board for our especial use 168 chickens, 72 ducks, 12 pigs &c, &c. The Captain thinks that we shall be at Tampa Bay by the 15th of October at which time the sickly season will be over and we shall be in readiness to commence the campaign at once. . . . I must try and get a little sleep before 3 o'clock, so my own dearest Helen, I must bid you good night.

Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, November 1, 1837

We arrived here on the 27th of October, having been 30 days at sea. As I leave here in a few hours for Fort Foster, and have many preparations to make in the mean time, I must necessarily be very brief. The following important intelligence was received here two days since by the Commanding Officer from General Jesup.[12] Powell and seven other chiefs of the Micasukes, 73 warriors, 50 negroes, and 30 women were surrounded while in council, by a body of 300 Dragoons and taken prisoners.[13] The Micasukes have shown a determined spirit for the commencement of the war to hold out until the last. The chiefs who were taken have had a very great influence, not only among their own tribes, but also among the Seminoles. Had it not been

10. Major Reynold M. Kirby was commander of the 1st Artillery Regiment. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 156.
11. Liverpool packets travelled regularly between American ports and Liverpool, England, carrying passengers, freight, and mail.
12. Major General Thomas Sidney Jesup took command in Florida, December 9, 1836, replacing Territorial Governor Richard Keith Call. He was relieved and turned command over to Zachary Taylor, May 10, 1838. He became quartermaster general, a post he held until his death, June 10, 1860. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War.* 190-218, 239-50; Sprague, *Florida War,* 115, 180, 203.
13. Powell is better known as Osceola. Born an Upper Creek in Alabama, he migrated to Florida as a boy following defeat of the Creeks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend to become a leader of the militant Red Stick band. The capture of Osceola was the result of a controversial decision by General Jesup to ignore a flag of truce. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 91, 214.

for them, peace would have been restored to Florida long ere this.

As General Jesup expresses it, "The Master Spirits of the war are taken." Of an engagement a short time before this capture, he writes, "70 Indians were taken prisoners." The war will now undoubtedly be carried on with great vigor, and it is confidently hoped with more success than heretofore. Forts Dade and Foster are to be re-garrisoned immediately. The Marines have been ordered to Charlotte's Harbor. There are here now upwards of 2000 regular troops, and about 200 Delaware Indians.[14]

Fort Foster, Florida, November 19, 1837

I almost despair of ever hearing from you while in Florida. I have not received a single letter from any one at the North as yet. . . . In my former letters I said but little about Florida. I will now tell you all which I think will interest you that has come under my observation.

With Tampa Bay, I was very agreeably pleased, but quite surprised to find that the officers consider this one of the most delightful posts in the country. Fort Brooke is situated at the head of the Bay, near the mouth of the Great Hillsborough River. The troops are encamped the whole year round. The encampment is situated in a grove of orange and live oak trees, and presents a very beautiful and imposing appearance. The weather was very delightful while I was there, and I think I never was more charmed with a place.

On the 30th of October, I was temporarily assigned to Major Belton's (B) Company, 2nd Artillery.[15] This company and a de-

14. The Delaware Indians were coastal Algonkian people pushed out of the region by European settlers. They eventually moved westward to the Indian territories. Some Delawares traded the long resettlement journey for jobs with the United States Army. In Florida, Delawares and Shawnees under the half-Indian Captain Parks served as guides and as emissaries to the secreted Seminoles, persuading them to turn themselves in at army camps to await migration to the West. For their work capturing Jumper, see Sprague, *Florida War,* 203-04.

15. Major Francis S. Belton was former post commander of Fort Brooke. He assumed command of the 2d Artillery Regiment which was used as infantry in Florida. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 101, 135; Sprague, *Florida War,* 9, 107. Dragoons were heavily armed mounted troops.

tachment of Dragoons were ordered to re-garrison Fort Foster, a post about 21 miles from Fort Brooke. Companys G and H of the 2nd Artillery . . . were ordered to re-occupy Fort Dade. These three companies, with three pieces of Artillery, and a baggage train of 90 wagons, escorted by the First Regiment of U. S. Infantry (a part of whom were mounted), left Fort Brooke on the first of November for their respective posts.

Before leaving, Major Belton appointed me Assistant Commissary of Subsistence, and Quarter Master of Fort Foster. I was, in consequence of being a staff officer, entitled to the use of a horse, which I very willingly drew and rode on the march. We had considerable difficulty and delay in starting as most of our mules had never been "broken in." By 9 or 10 o'clock, the whole train was moving, and to me it was a most thrilling sight. We had an advanced and rear guard, and flankers of mounted men. The soldiers on foot moved in two lines (single file), one on the right and the other on the left of the train.

The first night we encamped on the Little Hillsborough [River], which is about seven miles from Tampa. I took an excellent cup of chocolate with Major Belton and Dr. Henderson and then "turned in" to Major Belton's tent for the night. The bugle was sounded at 3 o'clock in the morning, as a signal to make preparations for departure, and by sunrise we were again under way.

We arrived at Fort Foster about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and our company immediately took possession of the post. The remainder encamped nearby. The train was off in good season for Fort Dade the next morning.

Fort Foster was built by Colonel [William S.] Foster and is situated on the Great Hillsborough River. This, by the way, is a most beautiful river and abounds with fine fish.

The fort is designed to command the bridge at this point, to serve as a depot for provisions and forage, and as a hospital for the sick and wounded who may be sent here from the interior. It is built of stockades and has two blockhouses, the guns of which have a cross fire on the bridge. . . .

In discharging the duties of Quartermaster, I have been engaged with about 20 soldiers ever since I came here in repairing the fort, building houses for the comfort of the officers and men, and erecting store houses for the reception of provisions and forage. We have completed in 14 days four large store

houses, (each capable of containing 30,000 rations) built two sheds, one 90 and the other 50 feet long; one Hospital, and three houses, besides repairing three. They are made after the Florida fashion, of course; more regard being paid to convenience and comfort than to beauty. Major Belton says, however, that we have the handsomest fort in Florida.

We have fine hunting and fishing in the vicinity. Occasionally we amuse ourselves by shooting an alligator. Our dragoons and two or three of the officers go out every day and scout the neighboring hammocks. I generally go out every other day. I have ridden through some hammocks where you could not see a person 10 paces from you. Our attempts to find the enemy in this vicinity have thus far been fruitless. Our express rider, coming through a hammock nearby very early yesterday morning, got a little frightened. He said he heard an Indian cock his rifle, and saw the bushes stir. He fired his pistol, plunged his spurs into his horse and rushed from the "Scene of Danger." How I should have laughed to have seen him.

On the 6th of this month, a train of 40 wagons arrived here with provisions and forage for this post from Tampa. A part of the escort consisted of about 200 Delaware and Shawnee Indians.[16] They encamped in a hammock on the opposite side of the river and soon killed four deer and a turkey.

I am very happy here in Florida, and my situation is far more pleasurable than I ever expected it would be.

The War is probably over. The Cherokees have been sent to St. Augustine to meet the Chiefs of the Seminoles and the Micasukes, and to act as mediators between our government and those tribes.[17] We have now in the field, besides militia and volunteers, 3,600 regulars. The army is in motion and General Jesup is active and energetic. Powell and those prisoners taken with him are in confinement at St. Augustine and have sent out a runner for their families. Powell says that he is not sorry that he is taken for he had got about through fighting. He is a brave

16. Like the Delawares, some Shawnees accepted temporary jobs with the United States Army.
17. The United States Army employed the Cherokee Indians as mediators in the Seminole conflict. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 222-23, 240, 270; and Gary E. Moulton, "Cherokees and the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 53 (January 1975), 296-305.

warrior and a patriot and future generations will honor his memory.

I told Major Belton that in case we had more fighting, I should prefer going into the field, to remaining here. For some reason or other he seems to have taken quite a liking (as the Yankees say) to me, and urged me to stay with him and said if I would he would write to Washington to have me appointed a regular Assistant Commissary and Assistant Quarter Master in the Army and said that he should be happy to have me join his company and embark my military fortunes with his. What I shall do, I hardly know. I will tell you in my next.

Major Belton was an officer in the last war, and an aide to General Scott for a part of the war and for a part to General Gaines and has served through both campaigns in Florida. He is a brave, discreet officer and one in whom much confidence is reposed by the War Department. . . .

P. S. I have one of the finest horses in Florida. He would suit you to a "T." He can walk, pace, trot, and canter equal to anybody's horse.

November 20th. I have just returned from hunting. I reckon I made some havoc among the Sandhill Cranes, a bird rather smaller than a turkey and very fine eating.[18] I have finished my blacksmith's shop and tomorrow I am going to build a horse shed and barn.

Fort Foster, Florida, November 22, 1837

Your very, very sweet letter was received with unbounded joy yesterday morning. . . . How happy, very happy, I am that one so dear to me, dearer than relations, friends, acquaintances and the whole world together is so near. Oh, Helen, that I had wings, I would fly over to Savannah between tattoo and reveille, press you to my bosom, snatch a kiss and fly back again without the Commanding Officer's knowing of my absence. I am glad, dear Helen, that you came to Savannah. . . .[19]

18. Sandhill Cranes, sometimes called Whooping Cranes, are rare in Florida now but were once plentiful. They have been described as "a long-necked, heavy-bodied, gray-brown bird about four feet (1.2m) high."
19. Around November 1837, Helen Blair left her family in Massachusetts to teach "47 scholars" in Savannah, Georgia.

Oh, I wish I could write more but I cannot as I am soon to start for Tampa, after provisions, forage, &c. and have many things to do before I go; among others I must sleep a short time. It is now about 12 or 1 o'clock and I have been writing business letters (I left my watch at home.) and I have ordered my horse to be saddled and the escort (which in passing, I think useless in this section of Florida.) to be ready at 5 o'clock in the morning to start. I shall be accompanied by Lieutenant Daniels and an escort which came with him from Fort Dade today.

I presume you will be happy to hear that I have concluded after much persuasion to remain here with Major Belton instead of going into the Field. We shall probably stay here until the war is over, so dear Helen I am just as safe here as you are in Savannah in that great easy (lazy) chair and enjoy the same "soft warm air" and am as careless, independent, and happy as a basket of chips. I expect the express back tomorrow. . . .

P. S. Oh, be sure to direct your letters to this post, via Black Creek. I did not get yours until one month after it was written because it went by the way of St. Marks, I presume.[20]

Fort Foster, Florida, December 7, 1837

Good news! Indians are coming in to Pease creek, Alligator, &c. Colonel Taylor says that the war will close without bloodshed.[21] I will write soon.

Fort Foster, Florida, December 10, 1837

Your two very affectionate letters dated Savannah have been received. . . . I should have written you oftener, my dearest Helen, but I really and truly have not had time to write a good

20. St. Marks is north and west of Fort Foster, located on the Gulf coast at the mouth of the St. Marks River.

21. Pease Creek is south of Tampa Bay and empties into Charlotte Harbor. Zachary Taylor was promoted to brigadier general for the capture of Holatoochee and forty warriors at the Battle of Okeechobee in late December 1837. In May 1838, Taylor replaced Jesup as commander in Florida. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 245-46. Alligator, or Halpatter Tustenuggee, was a war chief of the Alachua band and a great influence on Micanopy. He was one of the leaders at the Dade Massacre and at the Battle of Withlacoochee. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 127, 304, 374-75; and Sprague, *Florida War,* 97-98, 195.

letter for three weeks. In consequence of the lameness of our dragoon officer, I have had all his duties to perform, in addition to performing those of my two staff offices and my duty in the company. I have had to take command of scouting parties, of escorts, of trains. I have been to Tampa Bay twice, to Fort Dade on the banks of the Withlacoochee once, and on scouting parties almost every day. I have been writing, also in my capacity as clerk for four or five days making out my monthly returns and abstracts of Ordinance, of Commissary, and Quarter Master's stores; and I am thankful that I shall finish them in one day more, and then my dearest Helen shall have her share of the use of my pen. My employments here, however, suit my inclinations most admirably. I should like them better if there was rather more adventure, and fighting in them; however, this last is done with in Florida as you shall presently hear.

You ask me how I liked my voyage, &c. As for the voyage, . . . I cannot say much about [it], for I had the extreme felicity of being sea sick just the whole of the said 30 days. What rendered the voyage still more delightful to me, and to all of us, was that the ship took fire about 2 o'clock at night and only by a miracle was the fire extinguished. Moreover, when off the Bahamas, we had a mutiny among the crew, which was quelled by the captain's knocking down one sailor, and flogging another with the rope's end. On the whole, it was a very comfortable good sort of a voyage, at least so I have been told. . . .

That "dreaded, hated Florida" you say. Why, it's the greatest country in the world, and I am very happy here. If you should just see me some pleasant morning, on my little roan horse, with my double barreled gun going at a full gallop with my three dogs at my heels in pursuit of game, you would think I was happy. Yes, to tell the truth, if it was not for that little Yankee girl that I have taken such a shine to, I could live here all my life as contented and happy as the wild deer which roams the hammocks. I have a little puppy which I paid a dollar for, whose name is Powel– a fine dog that you'd like, I think.

Those gentlemen in Savannah are very polite to supply you with books. Present them my thanks, and give them a dollar. . . . Tell them to look out for I am getting to be an excellent shot.

Well, my dearest Helen, passing from the gay to the serious, I have followed your kind advice and taken good care of my health. I have not drank a drop of wine, or of any liquor since

I have been in Florida and have not been sick a moment. I have gained about 20 pounds of flesh since I arrived at Tampa, and my whiskers and moustache have grown wonderfully in length and beauty. Fine looking young man, that Chapman.

Coming from Fort Dade last week in command of a mounted escort, the Sergeant rode up to me and said that he saw something at a distance in a swamp. I took twenty men, all well mounted and made a charge at full gallop. I saw something and fired: on arriving at the spot where it fell, I beheld a fine, fat, wild Indian cow which we took to our fort and lived on for several days. . . .

This morning Major McCrea, with two companies of mounted men arrived here from the Kissimmee River bringing us the following interesting and cheering intelligence. On the first of this month, Captain Parks, a half breed who is in command of the Shawnee and Delaware Indians attached to Colonel [Zachary] Taylor's Division on the Kissimmee, volunteered to go with three of the Shawnees to the Camp of Alligator and see what he could effect.[22] He was instructed by Colonel Taylor to tell the Indians that if they come in immediately they should be treated with kindness and that General Jesup's treaty made last fall should be complied with. Captain Parks after traveling about 40 miles arrived in safety at Alligator's camp where he found Alligator, Jumper, Holatouchee (who will be the successor of Micanopy) and about 400 Indians assembled.[23] He communi-

22. Zachary Taylor called Parks "an active and intelligent half-breed, who is at the head of the friendly Indians, both Shawnees and Delawares, and whom I had employed to arrange and bring in Jumper" and his followers. See Sprague, *Florida War,* 204.

23. Jumper, also known as "Ote Emathla," was Micanopy's counsellor and was one of the most influential and feared Seminoles. Micanopy, also known as "Sint Chakkee" succeeded John Hicks (Neamathla) as head chief of the Alachuas (see note 5). His central authority was recognized by most Seminoles, but he apparently possessed poor leadership qualities and was easily swayed by others. Holatouchee was Jumper's son and Micanopy's nephew (Jumper married Micanopy's sister). Seminole descent lines were generally matrilineal, at least prior to the war. Therefore, it was assumed that Holatouchee was picked as Micanopy's successor. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 125-27. When Chapman referred to "General Jesup's treaty made last fall," he must have meant instead the March 6, 1837, document signed by Jumper and the other chiefs representing Micanopy. This led to the surrender of several hundred Indians, including Micanopy and Jumper, prior to the liberation at the Tampa detention center by Osceola and Sam Jones on June 2, 1837. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 299-304.

cated his instructions and they told him that they were very willing and desirous to come in but feared that they would not be treated as he promised. After some consultation they concluded to send some of their chiefs to the Kissimmee, to have a talk with Colonel Taylor.

On the evening of the 5th, Jumper, his son, Holatouchee and one other Indian accompanied by Captain Parks and the Shawnees arrived on the Kissimmee. On the morning of the 6th, they held a talk with Colonel Taylor when it was agreed that all the Indians at Alligator's camp should come in without the least delay to Pease Creek; that Captain Parks with his whole Indian force should leave the Kissimmee on the 9th for Alligator's camp with a sufficient number of mules to carry their provisions and to transport their families and moveables to Pease Creek; that General Jesup's treaty should be complied with and that one of the Indians should remain a hostage. After the talk, Jumper and his party returned leaving one of their number with Colonel Taylor.

Facts are daily becoming developed which show that the Seminoles have had more reason to make their bold stand and to prolong the contest than has hitherto been known. It is now ascertained that they had long been endeavoring to induce the Negroes of the south and the Cherokees to combine with them against the whites. The Cherokee mediators who are now in Florida inform us that the Seminoles have had runners between Florida and the Cherokee nation for the last two years.[24]

I have no doubt that the Seminoles having been assured by the Cherokee mediators that they can receive no assistance from their nation, and despairing, probably of obtaining any from the Negroes, and seeing the folly and infatuation of contending against 8000 troops, have concluded to sheath the scalping knife in Florida and go peaceably to their appointed western home.

Abraham, the celebrated interpreter, says that they would have gone at first had the Seminole delegation, of which I think he was one, been sent to the country assigned them at a more

24. This information is not discussed in any of the standard sources on the Seminole Wars. While Mahon, Porter, and other authorities agree that the black Seminoles effectively communicated with Florida slaves and induced many to join in the rebellion, none have mentioned a South-wide conspiracy to include plantation slaves and the Cherokee. Gary Moulton is also silent on this subject.

favorable season of the year.[25] It was in the dead of winter, when everything seemed to them dreary, uninteresting and forbidding. Was it at all surprising that they should prefer to try to maintain their ground in the warm, delightful climate of Florida, with the uplifted tomahawk, than to go willingly to the cold, uninviting banks of the Arkansas.

December 11th. The express from Black Creek has just arrived, and brings us the following glorious news. Micanopy, St. Cloud, Sam Jones's nephew, 49 other Indians, 32 negroes, the Cherokee mediators, &c. came in on the third conducted by Coahadjo.[26] Squire Sam Jones sent word that he was now in earnest, and would come in if General Jesup would not put him in petticoats, as he sent him word he would do last summer. The Cherokee delegation went out on the 5th to bring in Sam Jones, with conciliatory messages from the chiefs and the General. A council was held at Camp Mellon and the chiefs here agreed to everything proposed by General Jesup, and are to remain at Camp Mellon. Runners have gone in every direction and the trails are filled with women and children coming in. Ten days are given for all to come in and give up their arms. Powel's and Coahadjo's families are in. Micanopy says that there is no forked tongue this time.

I am happy to tell you, my dear Helen, that there is not the possibility of a doubt that the war is over. Preparations are making for the removal of the troops in Florida. General Jesup has this day sent three companies of Alabama volunteers to this post to eat provisions in order to save transporting them. . . .

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25. Abraham was a former slave of Micanopy, later freed, who rose to prominence by serving as an interpreter for the Seminole delegation to Washington, DC, in 1826. Both Seminoles and whites thought he was strengthening their position during negotiations, but he secretly persuaded slaves to take refuge with the Indians. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 128; and Porter, "The Negro Abraham," 1-43.

26. St. Cloud was possibly George Cloud, a prominent Seminole. Sam Jones's Indian name was "Arpeika." He was a medicine man of the Mikasukis who used his position to harden his people's determination against moving to the proposed reservations. Coahadjo was the Seminole sub-chief captured with Osceola during the parley at Moultrie Creek. When Micanopy sent word to General Jesup that he wanted a conference, Coahadjo guided the soldiers to his camp. After Micanopy's return to Fort Mellon under a flag of truce, he was held there as prisoner by Jesup. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole* War, 214; Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 254.

Fort Foster, Florida, December 23, 1837

I have just received your very affectionate letter and am so very unhappy that you have never heard from me that I scarcely know what to do with myself. . . . I have a good mind to desert and carry this letter to Savannah myself, and when I come back to flog all the Post Masters on the road. I have never yet received an answer to a single letter which I have sent out of Florida and I am almost tired of writing. . . . I have a notion to write every day so as to accumulate such a pile of them at the place where they are stopped that they will, just to get rid of them, send them on. . . .

Before I forget it, I will tell you that we have no regular Post office within 100 miles of here and, consequently, I have never paid the postage on my letters to you. Should you happen to receive them all at once, it will be quite a draw on your funds. I am going to try to make some arrangement with the Post Master at Black Creek to pay the postage on all letters sent to Savannah, Georgia and that may be the means of getting some letters to you. Continue to direct your letters to Tampa Bay and not to Fort Foster as I shall get them quicker.[27]

I am very much pleased with Florida and have been perfectly well the whole time. I have a fine post and my duties, though numerous, are very pleasant. I am Quarter Master, Commissary of Subsistence, and Post Master at this post and receive an extra compensation of 20 dollars per month. . . .

The officers here are preparing to enjoy Christmas finely. I killed an ox today and sent for a barrel of Oysters. We consider the war over here, and have not seen an Indian in this vicinity these two months. I have been sport hunting and fishing on the Hillsborough [River].

Oh, by the way, I have sent to Cuba for one of those little white Spanish lap dogs for you. They cost about 20 dollars. Mrs. Belton used to have one and all the children in the town used to come to see it. . . .

27. Helen Blair paid from eighteen to thirty-seven and one-half cents per letter for postage-due, a surprisingly high amount considering the prevailing wage rates.

Fort Foster, Florida, January 13, 1838

Your affectionate letter of the 19th last was received four days since, and relieved me of a good deal of anxiety. . . . I am most happy to hear that you are enjoying yourself so well in Savannah. . . .

I am more pleased with my situation and often tell Major Belton that I never was so happy in all my life. I go to Tampa about once a week and always bring up a variety of good things or "creature comforts" as somebody calls them. The Major and his eldest son, as he sometimes calls me, have purchased some fowls and we are going to raise chickens. I have begun to make a flower garden. Not exactly a flower garden as I am going to plant a few onions and potatoes among other things.

Lieutenant Thomas and Lieutenant Morgan were here a few days since.[28] Lieutenant Morgan came 22 miles to see me. I wish you could see my long whiskers, and beautiful moustache. You would laugh, I know. I have grown quite fat here and weigh more than I ever did before: viz. 160 pounds. I shall I reckon be a great man in one way if I am not in another.

Coming from Tampa last week I rode five miles after dark through the woods on an old Indian trail. You would have laughed heartily to have seen me. I was mounted on a little Indian pony which went at a full gallop, with my gun in one hand and a bag containing 100 dollars in Specie in the other. I only touched the reins once, when the little rascal took it into his head that he would run with me. He is a fine riding pony and I would buy him for you if there was any way to get him North.

Major Belton and myself were riding out about four miles from the fort yesterday, and we discovered a most beautiful warm spring.[29] I have not doubt that it will one day become as celebrated as any of our northern springs. I named it Belton's Spring. The rocks in its vicinity contain a great many petrified shells. The scenery around it is most charming. I am going to Tampa day after tomorrow and when I return I am going to

28. Probably 2d Lieutenant George Thomas, a member of the 3d Artillery and 1st Lieutenant E. W. Morgan, an artillery officer and West Point classmate of Chapman. See Sprague, *Florida War,* 107, 168-69.
29. Present-day Crystal Springs which lies several miles east of the fort.

visit Bowlegs and Wans towns which are about 10 miles from here.[30]

In the spring our rides will be enchanting; at that season there is in this neighborhood more than 300 varieties of the most beautiful flowers. If I ever get disgusted with the world, I believe I will come to Florida and live by hunting and fishing. . . . [Portion of letter missing.]

St. Augustine, Florida, February 27, 1838

I have been such a rover of late, that really I have not had time to give you information of my movements. Just before I left Fort Foster for this place, I commenced a long letter to you and had written six pages, when Major Belton called me to his tent, and requested me to proceed to St. Auustine without delay. It was about 11 o'clock at night and before dawn of day I set out accompanied by my servant. I was so positive that I should go to Savannah before I returned that I did not send the letter and expected to surprise my dearest Helen in fine style. I was so perfectly delighted with the idea of seeing my sweetest so soon, that I did not sleep but one hour that night and you can easily judge of my extreme disappointment when on arriving at St. Augustine, I learned that there was no boat going to Savannah before I should be obliged to return. Is it not too bad that I cannot see you, my own dearest, when I am so near.

I have spent four days very agreeably here and formed some pleasant acquaintances. St. Augustine is crowded with visitors from the North, and is very gay. I very unexpectedly met several of my classmates and also the beautiful Mrs Lieutenant Thomas here.[31] Of course, we talked over old matters and brought to

30. Bowlegs, chief of the Alachua band preceding Micanopy, owned large herds of cattle. Bowlegs was driven west to the Suwannee River during the "Patriot Rebellion," 1812-1813. His followers allied with the Mikasukis of Fowltown. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 10, 16, 24-25. Kenneth W. Porter theorizes that Bowlegs was the brother of King Payne and the uncle of the Billy Bowlegs who became famous after 1839 and as the leader of the Third Seminole War in the 1850s. See Kenneth W. Porter, "Billy Bowlegs (Holata Micco) in the Seminole Wars, Part I," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 45 (January 1967), 219-42; and "Part II," ibid. 46 (April 1967), 391-401.

31. Possibly the wife of Lieutenant George C. Thomas of the 3d Artillery. See note 28.

remembrance days of happiness gone by. Mrs Thomas seemed very glad to see me, and I have called on her often during my stay here. There are several officers wives boarding in St. Augustine, whose husbands are in Florida.

The first evening I arrived here I attended a party at Mrs [Charles] Downings. Her husband is a member of Congress from Florida. It was really a very splendid affair. I had the honor of dancing a cotillion with Mrs Thomas, and also of being introduced to many "pretty girls."

The next evening a party was given to Lieutenant Chapman, by Mrs Major Belton, Mrs Captain Webster, and Mrs Judge Smith, at the residence of Judge Smith's where the first two and, of course, the last lady boarded.[32] Mrs Belton tried her best to have me fall in love with a Miss _____ (I have forgotten the name) and was surprised at my indifference to the lady's charms. . . .

Yesterday I was invited by Lieutenant Steptoe to join a horseback riding party.[33] I went with a Miss Nevens, a young lady from Philadelphia and the reputed belle of St. Augustine. The ride was very pleasant, but I should have enjoyed it much more if– you know what I was going to write– so I will not trouble myself to write it.

This evening I am going to attend another party at Mrs Downings and tomorrow I shall leave this delightful place for Port Foster, via Picolata, Black Creek, Forts Harley, Frazier, Micanopy, King, Armstrong, and Dade. How agreeable to be once more in the society of intelligent ladies, after being for many months in the swamps of Florida, enduring all the hardships and privations of an Indian campaign. I remain in Florida cheerfully because it is my duty to do so, but the ardor with which I first entered this country has become abated, since I have seen that, instead of the thanks of our government for our exposure of life and health, we receive nothing but its cold ingratitude.

32. Perhaps the wife of Captain Lucien B. Webster, post commander at Fort Marion in St. Augustine. Mrs. Smith is probably the wife of Peter Sken Smith, a founder of the St. Augustine and Picolata Railroad Company and a director of the Southern Life Insurance and Trust Company of St. Augustine. See George E. Buker, "The Americanization of St. Augustine, 1821-1865," in Jean Parker Waterbury, ed., *Th Oldest City: St. Augustine, Saga of Survival* (St. Augustine, 1983), 163.

33. Edward J. Steptoe, West Point class of 1837.

When I am again settled at Fort Foster, I will give you an account of my voyage to New Orleans. I have seen Colonel Crane today and he says that he thinks that our Regiment will be ordered North by the First of May. . . .[34]

St. Augustine, Florida, February 28, 1838

I have been so constantly on the move since I last wrote that I have had not time to give you the news of the war.

I presume you have long ere this heard of General Jesup's and Lieutenant Powell's battles and I will not therefore give you an account of them.[35] The situation of affairs at present is this: General Jesup has offered the Indians that part of Florida south of a line drawn east from Eggmont Island, (Eggmont Island is about 40 miles south of Tampa Bay.) and has sent one of his aides to Washington to ascertain if the Government will consent to it. Hostilities have ceased and the Indians are coming in by hundreds daily.[36]

I was ordered on the 22nd of January to take Jumper and family, Micanopy's wife and children, 12 warriors and their families and three negroes amounting in all to 38, to Fort Pike [Arkansas], via New Orleans. I arrived there in safety and without difficulty and returned to Tampa in 14 days.

Jumper is the Orator and "Sense Keeper" of the Seminole Nation and was one of the chiefs who went to visit the country assigned to the Indians in the West.[37] He is a tall, noble-looking

34. Colonel Ichabod Crane was appointed commander of troops in northeast Florida, July 24, 1836. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 177-78.

35. Lieutenant Levi N. Powell, United States Navy, assigned to drive the Indians from the Everglades in 1837-1838. He was an important strategist of the concept of riverine warfare. See Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 21n, 49-60, 99, 137.

36. Jesup's offer was made February 11, 1838. He argued that the war, as it was then being fought, could drag on for years. His plan would confine the Indians to south Florida, and he would permit them to raise a single crop while denying them access to arms and ammunition. Within a year under this policy, Jesup expected the Indians would voluntarily move to the West. Secretary of War Joel Poinsett rejected the plan. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 235-37.

37. Jumper, or Otee Emathla, was a Red Stick Creek who had fought against Andrew Jackson in Alabama in 1812 and in Florida in 1818. He married Micanopy's sister and became his "sense-bearer" or lawyer-advocate. One of the chiefs who went to the West in 1832 to inspect the designated lands, Jumper argued against removal. He often served as spokesman for the

Indian and is decidedly the most intelligent one I have ever seen. I had frequent talks with him during the voyage and was highly surprised and pleased with many of his remarks.

Speaking upon the subject of temperance, I told him that the "Great Spirit" (for whom all the Indians have a great reverence) was displeased whenever his children drank ardent spirits. He said he did not think so; for since He had given us the necessary knowledge and means of making it, he could not believe that He was displeased when we made use of it. I expressed some other opinions to him, with which he did not coincide, and he finally said to me, "I have my own heart and mind and can judge for myself. You are a young man and are more liable to err than myself."

We, however, agreed upon most points, and became very good friends; and when I left him, he told me that if I would go to the West and live with him, he would give me the prettiest squaw of his tribe for a wife. (The Chiefs have the disposal of the squaws in marriage.) He has a wife and six children to whom he seemed very much attached. He could not bear the idea of leaving Florida, and was very much affected whenever the subject was mentioned.

Anyone who has ever visited their beautiful villages, and seen their orange groves, and their neat yards filled with various kinds of fruit trees, and has enjoyed this warm delightful climate, would not be surprised at the reluctance of the Indians to exchange Florida for the cold country of Arkansas. I never pass an Indian village, but that I think of what Jumper said in a part of the Treaty "Talk" at Fort Moultrie when the first treaty was made. He said, "It is hard to leave our homes, to leave our yards where our children have played before us."[38]

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councils. A leader at Dade's Massacre and involved in many of the major engagements of the war, Jumper surrendered and agreed to emigrate in early January 1838. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 79, 82-83, 92-96, 105, 127, 149, 199-200, 227; Sprague, *Florida War,* 50-51, 84, 97, 204; and Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles,* 253.

38. The source of Chapman's information on Jumper's talk is unclear; it is not reprinted in the standard sources. He may have repeated remarks made by Jumper during their travels together. His opinions regarding the Indian villages must have been formed during his visits to Bowlegs and Wans Towns.

Before the war he lived near the Wahoo Swamp, where he cultivated a small tract of land, and owned several hundred cattle and a number of ponies.[39] He and his family were driven from their home, and for the last two years they have lived like all the other Indians in swamps and hammocks, half naked, and half starved. Wearied with this kind of life in his declining years, he at last concluded to come in and go to Arkansas that he might spend the remainder of his days in peace. I parted with him with regret, and shall ever remember him as a brave, devoted patriot, and an injured, unhappy Indian.

I arrived at this place a few days since, via Forts Dade, Armstrong, King, Micanopy, Crane, Frazier, Harley, Black Creek and Picolata. I passed the battleground and saw the graves of the soldiers and men and the triangular markers.[40] I will not attempt to describe the melancholy feelings with which I reviewed the scenes. There lay before me, far in the interior of Florida, the bodies of a hundred men and eight gallant officers who had been my associates at the Academy. We arrived at the battle ground at 5:00 o'clock at night and saw the graves. The next morning at daybreak we were again on our march. We leave St. Augustine tomorrow for the Indian territory.

Wishing you many pleasant rides on your little pony. . . . I will close my short letter. I hope I shall hear from you soon.

Fort Foster, Florida, April 15, 1838

I have not heard one word from you for six weeks. . . . Do, dearest, write me one line and relieve my extreme anxiety. I have just recovered from a very dangerous illness but I leave here tomorrow for Tampa Bay to resume my duties on the Court Martial.[41] General Jesup will be at Tampa tomorrow and I shall learn my destination for the summer. The express is saddled and waiting.

39. Wahoo Swamp was across the Withlacoochee River from the Cove of the Withlacoochee.
40. He refers here to the site of the Dade Massacre.
41. Chapman's illness and the revival of the war were mentioned in an April 10, 1838, letter from E. W. Morgan, posted at Fort Dade (also preserved in the Chapman collection held by Edward C. Coker). Morgan was a West Point classmate of Chapman's.

Fort Foster, East Florida, April 22, 1838

I have written to you so many times of late without receiving any answer, that I hardly know . . . in what relation I now stand to you. . . .

I feel very low spirited this morning. I am alone and unwell. Major Belton has gone north for the benefit of his health. Lieutenant Woodbridge is at Tampa Bay; the Doctor and a great many men are sick. I am in command of the post and company and performing the duties of Commissary and Quartermaster. . . . I believe I am cruel to suspect for one moment that you have forgotten me or that you have transferred to another the love you have so often and kindly expressed to me but I hardly know what I am about this morning, so dearest, excuse me.[42]

. . . We expect orders very soon to go to the Cherokee Nation, so dearest Helen write soon in order that I may get your letter before I leave.

New Orleans Barracks, Louisiana, May 17, 1838

I have just arrived here from Tampa Bay which place I left on the 8th. Your last four letters have been received. The last three were received while on the passage from a vessel which left Tampa Bay after ours. I was very sick with a fever during the passage and your kind letters coming to hand at the time they did were more gratifying than any former ones. . . .

I am very sorry that . . . you were so disappointed in not seeing me in Savannah about the 10th of May, but all the troops at Tampa Bay were ordered to Calhoun, Tennessee via New Orleans, Mississippi and the Tennessee rivers.

42. Chapman's lonely and melancholy tone in this letter, the last one known to have been written in Florida, reflects the ravages of malarial fever. He had been sick for months, as had the doctor and most of the men at his post. Although he left Florida on May 8, a recovery had not been effected by May 18 when the last letter in this sequence was written. Chapman had asked superior officers for advice on combatting the disease but was told "men must expect to get ague and fever in this country. [Brigadier] General [Walker K.] Armistead informed me just now that he had done all he could in directing you to move out in the pine barrens. . . . Take some of your sheds (canvas) down and get outside." See F. J. Becton to Chapman, April 25, 1838. Fort Brooke, also in the Chapman collection. With such advice it is not surprising that nearly 16,000 soldiers were on sick rolls in Florida from May 1841 through February 1842. See Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 320.

I was relieved at Fort Foster on the 4th of this month, but did not know that we should leave Tampa Bay so soon. We left with a few hours warning. Three companies of the 2nd Artillery and the following officers came in the same vessel. Lieutenants Conkling, Luther, Morgan, Woodbridge, Armstrong and your servant. I am just off the sick report. . . .

Everyone believes that the Cherokees will not fight and that whether they do or not, the whole affair will be wound up in two or three months and then the Artillery will be ordered to their posts on the seaboard.

I can easily get a leave in the fall and it is my wish to be married then and I know of no possible objection to it. If anything should happen in regard to the Army to prevent it, then I shall certainly resign. What is the use of a commission if it keeps me forever from those I love and brings no happiness. My mind is fully made up on this subject and if you do not coincide, I can't help it. You can form no idea of what I have suffered during this five year engagement and rather than have it continue much longer, I would prefer to have it broken off forever.

May 18. This Florida climate which is apparently so delightful has rather broken me down in body and mind and I feel that I require the society of those whom I love. Oh, that I could be at home with my mother and sisters a short time. They seem to have my happiness more continually in view than anyone else. I am getting tired of this wandering life of a soldier and would willingly spend the rest of my life in the quiet pleasant town of my nativity.

I do not feel so well this morning but presume I shall before the day is out. I would like, my dearest Helen, to write you more but I can scarcely hold up my head. Oh, Helen, I wish I could avoid being so depressed. . . . Oh, Helen if you love me, don't stay at the South this summer. Please, dearest, write me often and regularly at Calhoun, Tennessee. We shall leave here tomorrow or the next day.

Yours as ever, William

POSTSCRIPT

Upon leaving Florida, Chapman recuperated in New Orleans until May 22 and thence travelled up the Mississippi River

From a daguerreotype of William Warren Chapman and son, William Blair Chapman, ca. 1850.

and the Tennessee River to Calhoun, Tennessee, to serve in the removal of 18,000 Cherokee Indians to the west of Arkansas. Called by Cherokees "The Trail of Tears," 4,000 Indians died during the forced evacuation.

Chapman's involvement in the Cherokee removal was brief. Because of illness, he was furloughed at the end of June 1838 when he traveled to Savannah to accompany Helen Blair to Westfield, Massachusetts. They were married there on August 29, 1838.

Chapman, a career Army officer, was promoted to first lieutenant, 2nd Artillery, on July 7, 1838, and, following his marriage, served on the northern frontier in Buffalo, New York, from December 1838 through 1841 during the Canadian border disturbances. The Chapmans' first child, William Blair Chapman (Willie), was born in Buffalo, July 18, 1840. Later, Chapman was stationed at Fort Columbus (Governor's Island), New York, from 1841 through 1845, remaining on quartermaster's duty from 1845 through 1846. Chapman was promoted to captain, staff-assistant quartermaster, on May 11, 1846. Chapman served in the Mexican War from 1846 through 1848, and as aide-de-camp to Brevet Major General John E. Wool from June 23, 1846, to November 14, 1847. He was in the Battle of Buena Vista in northern Mexico, February 22-23, 1847, and was brevated a major for gallant and meritorious conduct.

After the Mexican War, Chapman was stationed during the years 1848 through 1852 at Matamoras, Mexico, and at Brownsville, Texas (where as quartermaster he built Fort Brown), and Brazos Santiago, Texas. The Chapmans' other child, Helen Blair Chapman (Nellie), was born at Fort Brown on October 23, 1851. Chapman was quartermaster of the army depot in Corpus Christi, Texas, from 1853 through 1857, and then was transferred to Fort Monroe, Virginia, in 1858. He died at Old Point Comfort, Virginia, on September 28, 1859, at age forty-five.[43]

43. General G. W. Culliver, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy Vol. I,* 667.

FLORIDA MANUSCRIPT ACQUISITIONS AND ACCESSIONS

THE following are recent manuscript acquisitions and accessions as reported by Florida universities, colleges, public libraries and archives, and other institutions. Anyone interested in particular collections should correspond with the organization in question.

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, has acquired the following manuscript collections: Florida Anthropological Society Papers (1947-present); Charles Seton Papers; Governor Francis P. Fleming Papers; James Covington's published works; Florida Defenders of the Environment Papers; United States General Land Office (ledger); Armed Occupation Act Docket of Florida; Missouri, Journal . . . to Investigate General Zachary Taylor's Report of Battle, 1843; and a signed letter from James Wescott to David Levy Yulee, 1845. Maps acquired include a 1688 map of Florida; 1710 Valch. Insulae Americanae; 1783 Kitchen (two maps of the Southeast); and an 1832 Williams, Florida. Microfilm additions include Colección de Documentos (seven reels); Cuba Parish records (fourteen reels); assorted Georgia antebellum newspapers (sixty-eight reels); Alabama newspapers (fifty-three reels); and Georgia Tax Digests and Agricultural & Manufacturing Census (sixty-one reels).

The Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, has acquired an autobiographical sketch by Robert Taggart, and additional correspondence for the collection of Confederate Captain George Washington Parkhill (1852-1883). The Library has also microfilmed its George Rainsford Fairbanks collection (1823-1962, ten reels).

The Florida Collection, State Library of Florida, accessioned the Weedon and Henderson families scrap books kept by Mary Weedon Keen. Also added was campaign literature from the collection of former Representative Donald F. Hazelton (1976-1980) and letters from Charles Hutchinson.

The Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, added the following manuscript collections: Elizabeth Ann Love Wilson diaries (1848-1892); William D. Rogers letters (1862-1865); Florida Alliance for Arts, administrative files (1973-1982); United Daughters of the Confederacy, Florida Chapter scrapbooks (1930-1937, 1972-1977); United States Constitutional Bicentennial Committee of Florida records (1986-1989); Religious Heritage Council records (1975-1980); and David H. Wiggins diaries (1819-1862). There were additions to the Rhodes Family Papers; Florida State Genealogical Society, Florida Pioneer Certificates; and United Daughters of the Confederacy, Anna Jackson Chapter scrapbooks. Other acquisitions include the administrative files of the Governor's Commission on Hispanic Affairs (1977-1989), Migrant Labor Program (1977-1981), Lieutenant Governor Wayne Mixson (1979-1986), Florida State University President James Stanley Marshall (1970-1976), and Board of Regents Chancellor Charles B. Reed (1987). Also obtained were farm labor reports, Department of Labor (1967-1971, 1973-1975); Senate floor debate tapes, Secretary of the Senate (1978); motion picture films from WFSU-TV; and videotapes from Florida Public Broadcasting, "Today in the Legislature" (1987-1988). Added to the photographic collection were images (through cooperation with the Polk, Citrus, Volusia, and Jefferson counties' historical associations), as well as the Mosaic Project relating to Jewish life in Florida, and the Quilters Guild.

The St. Augustine Historical Society has accessioned the ledger book, record book, and by-laws (1934) of the Dewgragher Club, St. Augustine; and the Report of Interstate Commerce Commission Bureau of Valuation: Florida East Coast Railway Company. Microfilm acquired includes the complete 1910 United States Census; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* (January 1893-December 1895); and Cuban Archives: birth, marriage, and death records of immigrants from St. Augustine.

The Pensacola Historical Society has accessioned the following documents: 1938 Navy Directory, and two manuscripts: "Three Generations of Valentine Kirkpatrick Family" and "Christopher Ustrum Thiesen," by Lee Sutton. Also accessioned were two maps on historic Arcadia (1817-1855) in Santa Rosa

County and five maps and drawings of Fort McRee reproduced from National Archives holdings.

The Jacksonville Public Library Florida Collection acquisitions include *History of L. U. #177 I.B.E.W., Jacksonville, Florida,* by Fred Cancilla (1988); *Jacksonville Business College Catalogues* (1923, 1924); *Newnansville and Vicinity,* by Graynella Standley McLellan (1969?); *St. Luke's from Swampland to Meadow,* by Richard C. Palmer (1983); *Sallye B. Mathis and Mary L. Singleton: Black Pioneers on the Jacksonville, Florida, City Council,* by Barbara H. Walch (1988); and *A History of the Advent Christian Church in Jacksonville,* by Richard C. Williams.

The Black Archives, History & Research Foundation of South Florida, Inc., Miami, has acquired the *Miami Times* photographic collection (1960-1983).

The Rollins College Archives has accessioned the following microfilms to its collection: Winter Park scrapbook and Lochmeade index (one reel); Winter Park Topics, 1934-1939 (one reel); Winter Park scrapbook (one reel); and Hamilton Holt scrapbooks (three reels).

The Monroe County May Hill Russell Library, Key West, has acquired microfilm of St. Pauls Episcopal Church Records (1831-1989), Holy Innocents Episcopal Church Records (1901-1916), and St. Johns Episcopal Church Records (1875-1892).

The Historic Pensacola Preservation Board has acquired the membership files, photos, and scrapbook (1956) of Veterans of World War I, Pensacola Barracks No. 514.

The University of Miami Library, Archives and Special Collections Department, has acquired the following manuscripts: steamship and railroad advertisements; signed documents from J. H. Baldwin, by the Assistant Surgeon (June 17, 1839); Charles S. Baron, Fort Dallas (January 9, 1856); and Lorenzo Thomas, by Major General L. Thomas, Fort Pickens (January 1861); signed notes and letters from Governors N. B. Broward and Sidney J. Catts; Thomas Brown to A. Calderón de la Barea,

Tallahassee (December 13, 1851); Richard Keith Call to George Graham, Tallahassee (March 20, 1830) and to C. C. Clay, Tallahassee (May 22, 1836); William Gates to Lieutenant of Ordinance, St. Augustine (June 1, 1840); T. J. Haines to John Munroe, Pensacola (February 8, 1856); B. H. Hill to John Munroe, Fort Dallas (December 25, 1855); Thomas S. Jesup to Thomas Lanson, Camp Jupiter (March 30, 1838) and John Munroe, Washington (August 1, 1855); Collin McKenzie to Robert Edmonstone, St. Augustine (July 23, 1777); Robert Raymond Reid to Joseph McCants, St. Augustine (August 24, 1840); George H. Ringgold to B. FR. Larned, Savannah, GA (November 5, 1850); Zachary Taylor to T. S. Jesup, Fort Gardner (December 16, 1837); Joseph M. White and R. K. Call to John C. Calhoun, Pensacola (February 21, 1823); and William J. Worth to E. A. Hitchcock, Fort King (June 27, 1841). Photographs accessioned include the Floyd and Marion Rinhart Collection of Floridiana, E. G. Barnhill Collection (1914-1915); South Florida photographs of Dade, Broward and Palm Beach counties (1955-1975); and four photo albums of Florida and Cuba by Florence M. Francois (1917-1928). The Library also added the Luis Conte Agüero Papers and a collection of twenty Florida postcards (1911-1926).

The Historical Association of Southern Florida has acquired the following manuscripts: Charles Brookfield, McCormick family diaries (1884-1914); Charles Deering, Audubon Societies Papers and pamphlets; Oliver Griswold Papers; and a letter describing the 1926 hurricane (September 26, 1926). Also accessioned were Hans Hannau's book of pictures on Florida and the Caribbean. Visual materials acquired by the Historical Association include 345 photoprints of Charles Deering's Cutler and Buena Vista estates; Deering's manuscripts, blueprints, and watercolor albums; Anthony Kozla, Dade and Broward counties (1940s) stereographs; Clarence Steiglitz, hurricane effects on Miami and Cuba (1926-1927); and *Miami News*, 35mm negatives (1978-1988) and photoprints (1920-1988).

BOOK REVIEWS

The Red Hills of Florida, 1528-1865. By Clifton Paisley. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. xi, 290 pp. Preface, maps, photographs, illustrations, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. $26.95.)

When I was a graduate student at Florida State University and sequestered in the bowels of the library, Cliff Paisley would appear regularly, perusing the antebellum newspapers and other microfilm records for the odd facts and obscure personalities that he merged into *The Red Hills of Florida.* This book was many years in the making, and the abundance of information more than justifies the effort.

The physiognomy of the Red Hills is characterized by the reddish soils, rolling lands, and hardwood forests found in that thin strip on the Florida-Georgia border between Marianna in the west and Madison in the east. It is a cultural entity also, a microcosm of the antebellum and New South, and a region whose earliest inhabitants belonged to the Mississipian cultural affiliation.

The Spanish conquistadors Pánfile de Nárvaez and Hernando de Soto found the Apalachees living in a very centralized society in the highlands of Leon and Jefferson counties. The Apalachees suffered tremendously over the next 200 years, and the last of their numbers were decimated by the British early in the eighteenth century. Pressured by white settlement in neighboring Georgia and Alabama, scattered bands of Creeks moved into the Red Hills and began to be called "runaways" or Seminoles. The machinations of the Mikasuki chief Neamathla finally erupted into open warfare in 1817, and Andrew Jackson, commanding a mixed force of white volunteers and Lower Creek warriors, crushed the Red Hills' Indians, thus opening the region to white settlement after 1821.

Settlers were attracted by the prospect of fertile land available at the land office for $1.25 per acre. Some of the most prized soil was still inhabited by the Neamathla band, but they were soon displaced by the people drawn to the new territorial capitol at Tallahassee. Scions of planter families from other sec-

tions of the Old South were lured to the rich Red Hills, expecting to grow rich cultivating the staple crops: sugarcane, tobacco, and more importantly cotton. Many came from Virginia, like the Gamble brothers. Other states contributed as well. James Gadsden was a descendant of a distinguished Charleston family. But not everyone came from a privileged background. William Wirt, for example, who owned Wirtland near Monticello, was a self-made man from Maryland.

This is a story of not only the wealthy few, but the craftsmen, tradesmen, and merchants who also made contributions to the Red Hills. The beginning of the Second Seminole War in 1835, the failure of the Union Bank, and the effects of the Panic of 1837 slowed the region's growth, but when Florida joined the Union in 1845, prosperity was beginning to return to the area. The vicissitudes of cotton production and the politics of slavery dominated in the Red Hills until Florida voted to join the Confederacy in 1861. While hostilities never reached the Red Hills, men from the region fought and died in battles throughout the South, and the economic effects of the war were catastrophic.

The strength of this book is also its weakness. Paisley has completed extensive research, and his mastery of the "facts" is impressive. There is, however, not much synthesis, and we are sometimes left wondering why things occurred. For example, Paisley tells us that "sugarcane had almost the appeal of cotton at first." There is no context for this statement or his subsequent observation that there were "many failures in sugarcane." Generation of capital was a major problem in frontier Florida. Yet Paisley devotes little attention to the Union Bank which encouraged the boom and bust of the 1830s and early 1840s. There is clearly value in drawing together the historic fabric of this region. Paisley's study is an important contribution to the literature of antebellum Florida and will prove invaluable to future researchers interested in the Red Hills.

National Park Service, Denver, CO MICHAEL G. SCHENE

The Wilderness Coast: Adventures of a Gulf Coast Naturalist. By Jack Rudloe. (New York: Turman Talley Books, 1988. vii, 262 pp. Photographs, illustrations, acknowledgments, index. $21.84.)

With graphic lyricism, Jack Rudloe turns his coastal wanderings and yearnings into solitary wilderness adventures that mirror a sweep of Florida coast fast fleeting. Rudloe is exciting reading. Moreover, his portrait of Florida's only remaining wilderness coast– from his own base at Panacea, west across the belly of the Florida Panhandle to Destin– is one man's personal crusade to keep at least a portion of unspoiled Florida unspoiled.

Rudloe, a self-taught naturalist, rends his crusade for conservation– alarm about potential environmental disaster Floridians could leave for future generations– with novelistic storytelling. Florida conservation readers will be swept into Rudloe's rustic journeys through fragile wetlands as he mines the marine mystique, puncturing the many myths of sea monsters while wading shallows, exploring estuaries, or simply canoeing streams spilling into the Gulf of Mexico. Here readers encounter the horseshoe crab, the green turtle, the electric ray, the spiny lobster, and the octopus. He canoes 217 watery miles from just below the Okefenokee Swamp in Georgia to the Gulf of Mexico, exploring the Suwannee River mysteries in search for "ways of the mullet."

Rudloe deftly crafts an episode describing his terror and fear when netting an alligator that also brings back memories of his nerve-shattering water wrestling match with a giant gator to save his dog Megan at Otter Lake in the St. Marks National Wildlife Preserve: "For several years it had been a legend in my mind, a demon, and now I was once again face to face with one of these big, flesh-and-blood predatory reptiles from a prehistoric past."

Rudloe stitches together fragments of folklore he obviously admires– even his own "vision" during a Suwannee riverbank night when he said he was awakened by a procession of forest spirits parading before him. He re-spins ancient yarns told by weathered old fishermen that he encounters, such as the search and discovery of crocodiles and the mystery of why mullet jump. By doing so, he enlivens his storytelling, and touches on the history of a section of Florida that so far has escaped the popu-

lation surges and bulldozer mentality that was inflicted on the rest of the state in the 1980s.

Ironically, Rudloe is New York City-born. He discovered Panacea in 1957, and established a marine biological supply company there in 1962. He and his wife Anne collect sea creatures for commercial and university research laboratories across the nation.

Rudloe's conservation writing, including books and articles, stand among the most authoritative works on Florida's endangered wetlands. He writes about the section of the eastern Gulf of Mexico that extends from the Florida Keys north and west to Mobile Bay. It has some of the richest and most diverse wild coastline in the continental United States. Between the Mississippi Delta and the Dry Tortugas are "some fifty-thousand square miles of continental shelf, making this one of the shallowest large bodies of water in the world."

Rudloe expresses his fears for the fragile coast: "Where the West Florida shelf narrows greatly, near Destin, extending to Pensacola, and on to Alabama, a veritable 'boom' city has sprung up, exuding glittering neon carscapes, bikinis on the beaches, glistening suntan-oiled bodies, and giant purple plastic dinosaurs hovering over innumerable putt-putt golf courses. With deep water so close to shore, the waves polish the sands until they gleam, scouring away the mud and silt and leaving white sands and blue tropical water."

Rudloe's writings can be compared to those of the famed environmentalist Rachel Carson. Often controversial, particularly in the Tallahassee area where he is fighting speculators and developers in the battle to preserve the west Florida coastal environment, Rudloe worries about the uncertain future of the natural habitat of endangered species. Certainly his adventures along the Wilderness Coast– adventures he so graphically shares with readers– stand as strong arguments for leaving it wild and undisturbed.

Pensacola News Journal JESSE EARLE BOWDEN

John Knight: A Publisher in a Tumultuous Century. By Charles Whited. (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1988. viii, 405 pp. Prologue, notes, selected bibliography, acknowledgments, index, photographs. $21.95.)

John S. Knight was one of America's most powerful and influential journalists for nearly one-half of a century. He achieved this position through control of the newspaper organization that bore his name and included in its holdings the *Miami Herald*, *Chicago Daily News*, *Detroit Free Press*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Akron Beacon-Journal*, and the *Tallahassee Democrat*. In 1974, Knight Newspapers merged with Bidder Publications to form the nation's largest newspaper group. By the time of Knight's death in 1981, Knight-Bidder Newspapers was publishing papers in thirty-three cities with a daily circulation of 3,800,000. It also operated a communications empire that included television stations, news wires, and a computerized information service. The corporation's annual revenues exceeded $1,000,000,000. Knight's personal fortune stood in excess of $100,000,000.

Knight's lofty position in the world of journalism served him well. He dined with presidents and statesmen, and his opinions and services were sought by officials in the highest counsels of government. Through his leadership over some of the country's most prestigious organizations, he influenced the changing currents of his profession. "Wherever John Knight sat," one editor recalled, "was the head of the table."

A man of great paradox, Knight, the aggressive businessman, kept $1,000,000 in a non-interest bearing bank account. Although personally a gambling enthusiast, he and his brother James Knight launched the *Miami Herald* on an anti-gambling crusade that brought Senator Estes Kefauver's Senate Crime Investigating Committee to south Florida. Imperious and intimidating, Knight, nevertheless, hired strong editors who sometimes opposed him, and he often allowed his judgement to be overridden.

Knight's personal life was filled with tragedy. His first wife died prematurely, leaving him with three young sons. He outlived two other wives, as well as two of his sons. Knight's beloved grandson, John Knight III, whom he had carefully groomed for a leadership role in his organization, was brutally murdered. Knight was outwardly stoic in the face of personal tragedy, but

he suffered in his final years from depression, loneliness, and physical infirmities.

Above all else, Knight was a newspaperman. The son of a newspaper publisher, Knight was born in Ohio in 1894 and began his career in journalism with his father's newspaper, the *Akron Beacon Journal.* Knight inherited the debt-ridden journal upon the death of his father. He quickly reversed its fortunes and began acquiring other Ohio dailies. From the beginning, Knight established an effective *modus operandi* for managing newspapers. After acquiring a newspaper, he introduced change slowly while carefully studying the host community. Gradually he built editorial strength, included additional hard news, and stressed local editorial control. In 1936, Knight introduced the "Editor's Notebook," a weekly column carrying his opinions on a host of issues. Although writing was a difficult process for him, Knight grew in this format, winning a Pulitzer Prize in 1968.

Knight purchased the Miami *Herald* for $2,250,000 in 1937. The journal was drab in format, its physical plant in poor shape, the staff mediocre, and its finances in disarray. Knight believed, however, that the newspaper possessed enormous potential. After taking control, he began filling key staff positions with proven veterans from his other papers. The paper's format changed, and it began to exhibit fresh journalistic vigor. Stories grew deeper, coverage broader. Plans for a new newspaper plant were unveiled. By 1940, the *Herald* was reporting a steady profit.

The *Herald* surged past the *Miami Daily News* to become the city's preeminent newspaper. In the early years of World War II, faced with a shortage of newsprint, Knight opted to reduce advertising drastically while continuing full war coverage. The *News* chose the opposite tack and was subsequently buried by the *Herald's* circulation gains. Since World War II, the *Miami Herald* has represented, arguably, the single most powerful institutional force in Miami.

A popular columnist for the *Miami Herald* for nearly three decades, Charles Whited has written a compelling account of the life and times of John S. Knight. He has explained the financial and technological side of the newspaper business with great clarity, and he has placed this account within a solid historical framework. Whited's sparkling study of John Knight will prove

fascinating to anyone interested in this complex man and the deep imprint he left on journalism in Florida and elsewhere.

University of Miami PAUL S. GEORGE

The King Site: Continuity and Contact in Sixteenth-Century Georgia. Edited by Robert L. Blakely. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988. xxiii, 170 pp. Introduction, maps, tables, illustrations, photographs, appendix, references, contributors, index. $22.50 cloth; $11.50 paper.)

Blakely's edited volume is an interpretive summary of the archaeology and physical anthropology of the King Site. Work on this site began in the 1970s supported by grants from the National Geographic Society, National Endowment for the Humanities, and the National Science Foundation. There are nine chapters in the book, and they are grouped by section: Social Life, Stress and Disease, and The Spanish Encounter. The first section includes discussions of the settlement pattern of the King Site (David Hally), demography and social organization (Robert Blakely), status (John Garrett), and cultural affiliation of the King Site (Lisa Crowder). In the second section, Sharon Kestle examines subsistence and sex roles, Antoinette Brown and Bettina Detweiler-Blakely discuss skeletal evidence of stress from nutrition and battle. In the last section, Mathews examines the osteological evidence of battle injuries. Charles Hudson, Chester DePratter, and Marvin Smith close the volume by analyzing the King Site in relation to historical documents of Hernando de Soto's route through Georgia.

The pervasive opinion summarized in this volume and in other publications that have appeared since the 1970s (e.g., Blakely and Detweiler-Blakely, *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 14:62-89, 1989; Brown and Blakely, *Journal of Human Evolution* 14:461-68, 1985; Halley [organizer], *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin* 18:48-91, 1975; and Smith, *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast*, 1987) is that the King site was a village occupied during the mid-sixteenth century. The population at the site practiced a mixed subsistence strategy. The burial population demonstrated "achieved ranks

within ascribed status" (Garrett:39). Because twenty-six of the 189 burials exhibited cut marks suggestive of Spanish swords, it is concluded that inhabitants of the King Site suffered demise under the swords of de Soto's expedition.

Although these interpretations of the King site material may be appropriate, readers who are hoping to evaluate the conclusions against the hard-won evidence of archaeological and physical anthropological records will be greatly disappointed. The volume is thin in basic information. Appendix 1 summarizes some aspects of the demographic and paleopathological analyses. Even here, however, there seems to be selective coverage of information. There is, for instance, no information on burial associations, and burial location is simply noted as public or private. Yet, as generally discussed in papers by Garrett, Crowder, and Brown, these two aspects of the burial program were important criteria for determining ranking. Moreover, given the emphasis on battle casualties and the importance of metal objects (Smith in Halley, 1975) for establishing the temporal position of the site, it is curious that the burial context of the metal was not summarized in this volume. Metal found in two graves is described by Crowder, but it would have been helpful to know the pattern of buried metal objects in relation to injured individuals.

Because much of the interpretation rests on the identification of King Site burials as victims of a de Soto massacre, a closer examination of Mathew's paper on battle victims will demonstrate what I perceive as the two most fundamental problems of this work: biases due to sample size and selective use of information.

Mathews draws an association between injury and evidence of animal gnawing. He suspects that individuals felled in battle were left exposed on the field for a sufficient period of time for predators or rodents to attack the bodies. Despite the use of a Chi Square statistic to demonstrate the association, the position cannot be supported. Only twenty-six individuals (14 percent) of the burial population had fatal injuries. Of those, only nine (35 percent) showed evidence of animal gnawing; seventeen of the fatally wounded (65 percent) showed no evidence of animal gnawing. In addition, there are ten individuals who have evidence of animal gnawing but lack any evidence of injury. Because these burials were apparently in the same area as the

wounded individuals, Mathews concludes that "individuals with bite marks only were probably killed in battle too" (Mathews: 107).

While I do not question that some of the population from the King Site was killed by Spaniards, there are serious problems with the interpretation. First, the percentages of the injured and gnawed (n= 9) and injured without gnawing (n= 17) suggest very few victims were left on the battlefield. Second, although small, sample sizes of the fatally wounded and gnawed (n = 9) versus gnawed only (n = 10) are close enough to argue for a single cause as responsible for the gnawed bone. The question is whether exposure following battle is the cause? If the cause is exposure, what criteria, other than burial location, were used to determine that individuals with no evidence of battle injuries were killed in battle? If burial location was the only criterion, then why was the map of this distribution not included in the volume?

Problems similar to those just summarized are present throughout the book. Although the King Site is of great importance to anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians with interests in the rapid and catastrophic changes that occurred throughout the Southeast in the sixteenth century, this edited volume does not make substantial contributions to the topic. The reader is forced either to accept or to criticize the interpretations of the authors. Unfortunately, the structure of the book precludes serious evaluation of the positions presented.

University of New Mexico ANN F. RAMENOFSKY

Soldiers Blue and Gray. By James I. Robertson, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988. ix, 278 pp. Preface, photographs, notes, works cited, index. $24.95.)

In *Soldiers Blue and Gray*, James I. Robertson, Jr., offers an interesting look at the common soldiers of America's Civil War. Robertson covers the organization, equipping, and training of the armies; describes the men (and a few women) in those armies; and details such facets of soldier life as food, weapons, amusements, clothing, discipline, medicine, and combat.

Almost one-half century ago, Bell I. Wiley published *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (1943) and *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (1951). Wiley's volumes staked out the life of the common people as a legitimate and profitable field for historians of nineteenth-century America. They described the life of the soldiers and established what might be called the "classical school" of the history of the common folk.

Recent scholars such as Michael Barton *(Goodmen: The Character of Civil War Soldiers,* 1981), Gerald Linderman *(Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War,* 1987), and Reid Mitchell *(Civil War Soldiers: Their Expectations and Experiences,* 1988) have explored other facets of the Civil War experience. These authors have sought to probe into the mind and character of the Civil War soldier rather than simply to describe his life. Their work, much of it influenced by the Vietnam experience, constitutes the "new school" of the history of the common folk.

Soldiers Blue and Gray is of the classical school. Robertson presents a descriptive narrative, usually eschewing topics that have interested many recent scholars. He offers a close parallel of Wiley's classics. Robertson points out that Wiley usually relied upon manuscripts. Those sources were so abundant that Wiley bypassed many printed works. In a reversal of the usual justification for reopening an old subject, Robertson proposes to mine the printed material– especially regimental histories and veterans' reminiscences– "to provide a new and fresh appraisal of Johnny Rebs and Billy Yanks" (p. viii). He is as good as his word. Few citations to manuscripts appear in his footnotes while his bibliography lists one and one-half pages of manuscripts and nineteen pages of published sources. Robertson used much material that has been published in recent decades. Some of these documents, however, were used by Wiley in manuscript.

Robertson's heavy reliance on postwar writings exposes him to "old soldierism." Elderly veterans often romanticized their wartime experiences. They forgot much of the hardship and the suffering and remembered the heroic and the humorous. They frequently embellished their accounts and sometimes remembered events that did not happen.

Some readers may wish that Robertson had specified what new findings he had unearthed and how (or if) Confederate

soldiers differed from Yankees. Others will desire more discussion of soldier life in the Trans-Mississippi or more details on life in the cavalry or the artillery.

Scholars will have problems with Robertson's index. Regiments are not indexed, although the text contains information on many of them. The names of many individuals quoted in the text are omitted from the index. "Women" are indexed as patriots, sweethearts, wives, and "on the other side" (278) but not as nurses, prostitutes, or soldiers, even though females in all of those professions are covered in the text. (Nurses and prostitutes have their own index entries).

Soldiers Blue and Gray should be evaluated for what it is— a "supplement" (viii) to Wiley's volumes. Robertson has furnished additional examples and details of soldier life. New Civil Warriors or those wanting just a quick read about the soldiers will find his book valuable. Serious researchers, hampered by the incomplete index, will have to plow through it, but they too can profit from Robertson's pages.

North Carolina State University RICHARD M. MCMURRY

Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running During the Civil War. By Stephen R. Wise. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988. xi, 403 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

This work is the first full account of the Confederacy's efforts to run the Union blockade during the Civil War. Though at times a veritable catalogue of ships and incidents, it presents a strong case for a successful practice that came to an end only when Union land forces had seized each southern port's wharves by the final months of the war. Stephen R. Wise, instructor at the University of South Carolina in Beaufort and director of the Parris Island Museum, does not conceal his pro-South sentiment while attributing the collapse of the Confederacy more to lack of manpower than to inadequate resources. For over three years, blockade runners moved in and out of Bermuda, Nassau, Havana, and the Confederacy, sustaining the

South and meanwhile causing "a revolution in ship building" that led to the use of "fast, light-drafted, steel- and iron-hulled steamers" (p. 3). But as the blockade tightened and the British government remained neutral, the Union closed the ports and broke the lifeline. Moreover, the South left blockade running to private companies who were more loyal to profit than to the Confederacy and preferred to send more lucrative nonmilitary items. Though the Richmond government tried in 1863 to reorganize its finances in Europe and establish control over cargo, it was unable to reverse the events leading to Appomattox.

The first effective blockade runners came from John Fraser and Company in Charleston and the Liverpool-quartered office of Fraser, Trenholm and Company. In October 1861, the *Bermuda* ran the blockade out of Savannah and reached England, showing that steamers could cross the ocean. Early the following year, Fraser, Trenholm and Company bought its first paddlewheel steamer in Scotland. Known as the *Clyde Steamer,* it was capable of high speed and was adapted to blockade running in Liverpool and Glasgow before taking to the water. Owners of the new vessels painted them with dull colors to enhance invisibility at night, removed staterooms to increase cargo capacity, placed masts on hinges to make them removable when not needed, and installed telescopic smokestacks which could be lowered. Soon Confederate agents were in England and on the Continent, arranging deals based on promises of cotton.

As late as the winter of 1864, Wilmington and Charleston received goods from overseas that, according to Wise, "allowed the new nation to survive as long as it did" (p. 7). Indeed, blockade runners provided 60 percent of the South's arms, a third of its lead for bullets, three-fourths of the materials for gunpowder, and nearly all paper for cartridges. When Lincoln declared more than 3,500 miles of coastline blockaded, Southerners reacted skeptically to the possibility of closing the vast area. Besides, "King Cotton" would force the British and French to intervene on behalf of the South. But all southern harbors were hampered by shifting bars, the coastal region contained few deep-water ports, inland transportation systems were inadequate, and neither the British nor the French considered their cotton needs sufficient to risk war with the Union. New Orleans was the South's most important port, but administrative difficulties hampered its early effectiveness, and then Union

forces occupied the city in April 1862, virtually ending blockade running out of the Gulf. The fall of Wilmington and Charleston in early 1865 cut off the Confederacy's last food supply.

Wise's work is well researched in southern sources and materials from the National Archives, but it would have benefited from a deeper analysis of Union efforts to halt blockade running and of British involvement in the illicit business. Such an approach might have more clearly established how the South managed to maintain a credit system with British merchants who, when the South lost the war, ended up in financial trouble. In addition, Wise might have offered insights on the wisdom of the British government's hands-off policy toward firms dealing with Confederate agents. Though blockade running was a longtime success for the South, the blockade caused enormous hardship for British workers. This good book could have been even better had the author placed the issue of blockade running within the context of the complex triangular relationship among the Union, Confederate, and British governments and people.

University of Alabama HOWARD JONES

The Guns of Cedar Creek. By Thomas A. Lewis. (New York: Harper and Row, 1988. xi, 371 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

If It Takes All Summer: The Battle of Spotsylvania. By William D. Matter. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. x, 455 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

The American Civil War is probably the most thoroughly studied period of American history. Its leaders, battles, campaigns, economy, and politics have all been researched and analyzed. In spite of this degree of study, there are many areas of the conflict that have either been neglected or lack a detailed study. Recently, there have been highly satisfactory well-researched studies of individual battles. These two works fall into this category. Both raise provocative questions about the final outcome of the war.

The Guns of Cedar Creek concerns the final Union offensive in the Shenandoah Valley, an offensive that, according to author

Thomas Lewis, might have very well changed the outcome of the war. William Matter's *If It Takes All Summer* is a work dealing with the first stages of Grant's final offensive against Lee's army and the ultimate defeat of the Confederacy. Scholars may have overlooked the real significance of these last battles since most of them believe the war was already won or lost depending on their point of view. Both works are the only full-length books dealing with the specific battles they describe, and each author has done a scholarly and fairly complete study. Matter's book is more of a standard military account with many maps and clear descriptions of the troop movements. In this respect, the author has provided a good, understandable account, providing the reader with a clear picture of the differences between Grant and Lee.

Lewis's book does not give as clear-cut a description of the actual battle, but he provides the reader with outstanding accounts of the leaders and their backgrounds, personalities, strengths, and weaknesses. This work is more a study of the leaders and motives than of the actual battle. He ultimately makes this battle a contest of will, energy, and persistence between Jubal Early and Phil Sheridan. It was a battle that might easily have been won by the Confederates had Early continued his attack but was actually won by the Union largely because of the drive and iron will of Sheridan.

The significance of both books is they illustrate that even at this late date the war could have had a different outcome and that this war ended as it did largely due to the efforts of Grant and Sheridan. Other works would add Sherman's activities in Georgia and South Carolina to this list of possible pivotal events of the war. Grant's and Sherman's actions are generally accepted by historians as critical to the conclusion of the war, but Sheridan's victory at Cedar Creek is not usually placed in this category.

Certainly by 1864, both sides were extremely war weary and were ready to end the conflict. Had a less resolute leader than Grant been given command of the Union forces or had Sherman been less successful, the people of the North might have demanded and got a negotiated settlement. The related conclusion of Lewis's book is that had Early defeated Sheridan, as he almost did, he would have threatened Washington and forced Grant to pull back to defend it. This was the old Jackson tactic that had relieved pressure on Lee before.

Neither author suggests that it was possible at this late date for the Confederacy to have actually defeated the Union, but both stress the war weariness in the North. Had the Union not won these battles or had Sherman not been successful in Georgia, there would have almost certainly been either the election of McClellan on a peace platform or so much pressure applied to the Lincoln government that it would have been forced to end the war. Peace at this time would have been a blessing for both sides. The South was already trying to negotiate a peace that included reunion and an end to slavery. Such a settlement would have satisfied any justifiable demands of the North with much less bloodshed, destruction, and especially bitterness. Both books are important, readable, and well researched. They should be read by scholars and laymen alike.

Auburn University FRANK L. OWSLEY, JR.

The Granite Farm Letters: The Civil War Correspondence of Edgeworth and Sallie Bird. Edited by John Rozier. Foreword by Theodore Rosengarten. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988. xxxvi, 330 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, map, notes, epilogue, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

The Granite Farm Letters is a collection of Bird and allied family correspondence stretching evenly over the years 1861-1867. The central characters are William Edgeworth Bird, born of an enterprising Hancock County, Georgia, family in 1825, and his wife Sarah (Sallie) Baxter Bird, distinguished daughter of a prominent Athens family, born in 1828. Their children Sallie (Saida) and Wilson (Bud) also play important roles, but of the ancillary characters who appear in this volume, Mary Wiley Baxter, Sallie Bird's mother, is clearly the most important and, perhaps, even the strongest personality in a book chock full of independent-minded people. These letters are taken primarily from the Civil War years, and provide intriguing insights into life on the plantation and at the front during the entire span of this bruising conflict.

The quality of the Bird letters as literature is high, reflective in part of the cultured society in which the protagonists lived.

Even in the white heat of war, Bird writes from the Virginia front to emphasize to his children the value of history, foreign language, and broadly based reading; he and his wife stud their letters with unaffected literary illusions and historical metaphors as well as the "down home" domestic references that today's readers might expect. With neighbors such as the David Dixons, the Richard Malcolm Johnstons, and the Lovick Pierces, and with family ties of one sort or another to the Berriens, Yanceys, Bemans, Joneses, Wileys, and others, letters of a high quality might well be expected. The reader will not be disappointed.

To those familiar with the problems of Hancock County today– and who is more conversant with this subject than John Rozier– the correspondents might seem to be describing a society from outer space. For in and around antebellum Sparta, Hancock's chief town, was centered the economic and cultural heart of much of Georgia's nineteenth-century history. The county seemed fairly to bubble over with ideas and responsible leaders, in sad contrast to the ennui and desolation found there today. This phenomenon, of course, was grounded in the institution of slavery and cotton economics that supported a system that seemed relevant, effective, and vibrant when viewed through the spectacles of the Bird family and their numerous contacts throughout the state. The system was given its quietus in 1865, but one of the striking impressions that hit this reader was not so much how things changed after defeat as how much they remained the same. In Hancock, after the surrender of Lee and Johnston, life picked up where it had left off when the Confederacy still operated. Only Edgeworth Bird's unexpected death in 1867 seemed to upset the even tenor of life at Granite Farm, the plantation that gives this collection its title.

Some academic historians will be looking in these letters for views on slavery that will corroborate already formed opinions. But no beatings or whippings will be found in this volume. When insurrection seemed to threaten, Edgeworth counseled his wife to deal firmly with the situation; disobedience or indolence was not to be brooked. But the overwhelming impressions of slavery that permeate these pages are concern, genuine fondness, and an ingrained paternal attitude by the Birds toward their charges.

Aficionados of women's history will find much to admire in the strong Mary Baxter and in her sensitive, well-organized,

and thoughtful daughter, Sallie Bird. Her skills at the plantation kept Granite Farm a profitable enterprise throughout the war. She followed her husband's advice that the best way to secure loyalty and efficiency in the work force was "to gain the affection" of the blacks, thereby directing the slaves "through their hearts better than any overseer can through fear" (p. 46). She was as successful in this as she was in most endeavors. It is unfortunate that so relatively few of her letters survive, for Sallie emerges in this correspondence as the indispensable person who kept both the family and plantation together as useful units.

These extraordinary letters show a family and society under stress; internal confusion– the destruction of Sherman's marauders, refugees (of whom daughter Saida was one, first in Savannah with the Joneses and then in Augusta); Edgeworth's abiding optimism, which never turned sour in spite of being at Gettysburg and in other major battles as his friends and relatives fell beside him; and above all, perhaps, the quiet sort of heroism that dictated "life as usual" although the times were drastically out of joint. Little things stand out: the reliability of the mails, even in 1864-1865; the emotional poignance and immediacy of these letters; the fine quality of the writing; the undercurrent of conflict between a staunch Roman Catholic, Edgeworth, and an equally staunch Presbyterian, Sallie; the image of Athens, Sallie's home town, as a sophisticated community of informed, well-educated people.

Comparisons with *Children of Pride* inevitably come to mind. In this reviewer's opinion, the Bird letters are at least the literary equals of the Jones collection and offer considerably more arresting domestic and military detail than the earlier volume. Although the Birds are devout Christians, there is no noxious cloud of self-conscious sanctity hovering over them. By their very humanity the Birds, unlike the Joneses, are people with whom the reader, be he northern or southern, can immediately equate. It is difficult to read of the death of Edgeworth in 1867 without being deeply moved, for here is the true stuff of history: love, sacrifice, achievement, personal tragedy.

The unshakeable tie between husband, wife, and daughter is the central theme of this powerful collection of letters. In their writings to one another, which transcend the ordinary even when concerned with it, is found the core of *The Granite Farm Letters.* Whether speaking openly and frankly about their phys-

ical love or offering advice to Saida as she labored with her studies at Lucy Cobb Institute and later at the Georgetown Visitation Convent in Georgetown, DC, the correspondence between husband and wife stretches beyond Hancock County, Georgia, and the Confederacy. This magnificent exchange takes on universal overtones and is, in short, the finest set of these kinds of letters that the reviewer has read.

University of Georgia PHINIZY SPALDING

The Private Civil War: Popular Thought During the Sectional Conflict. By Randall C. Jimerson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. xiv, 270 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, photographs, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

Randall C. Jimerson has built on the scholarship of historians like Bell I. Wiley, Forrest G. Wood, and V. Jacque Voegeli to construct an in-depth look at the impact of the Civil War on the lives of various Americans. In the course of his study, he allows individuals from various groups to "speak for themselves" through the generous use of contemporary manuscripts. Their perceptions of the war, its causes, and its higher meaning sometimes bears little relation to the commonly accepted stereotypes and explanations of today. *The Private Civil War* is very much a "people history."

For many white Southerners, particularly those who did not own slaves and yet who constituted the bulk of the Confederate army, the war was less a defense of the institution of slavery than it was a defense of the constitutional right to own slaves. Even more pertinent to these Southerners was the notion that the war was the product of an aggressive North which sought to physically conquer the South and destroy its distinctiveness. Although southern "fire-eaters" might choose to depict the Civil War in grandiose nationalistic terms, split hairs about the legality of secession, or offer high sounding defenses of slavery, their arguments failed to come to grips with the reality of common thought. The majority of white Southerners who supported the Confederacy did so out of a desire to protect home and hearth, kith and kin.

For northern whites, the initial motivation to fight was much the same. Few responded positively to the rhetoric of the abolitionists, and the strident calls of a moral crusade against the "peculiar institution" attracted few early supporters. Viewing the attack on Fort Sumter as an attack on the Union, Northerners answered the call to arms to prevent a violent dissolution of the nation. Jimerson argues that the white majority "had been willing to allow the southern states to secede peaceably," but the shelling of Sumter rallied them to a defense of their homeland. Echoing the work of Wood and Voegeli, Jimerson denies any widespread sympathy for slaves or any deep-seated hatred of the institution existed in the North. Like their southern brethren, Northerners viewed the war in protective terms.

For most slaves, the outbreak of war changed little in their lives. Early experiences with Federal troops in occupied areas were hardly the kind to warrant a great deal of optimism. Runaways were frequently returned to their masters who exacted a harsh penalty for this obvious disloyalty. Initial contacts between Northerners and slaves reflected the prevailing racism that dominated American society, North and South. The Civil War was a contest between whites only, and blacks were seldom allowed to participate. When the abolitionist general David Hunter attempted to broaden the conflict into an abolitionist crusade in 1862 by issuing an emancipation decree, white reaction in the North forced Abraham Lincoln to rescind the order.

Northern attitudes began to change in 1863, following Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Even then, change came slowly. The decision to utilize Negroes in the Federal army triggered massive opposition and threatened the entire Union war effort. Only after the move was portrayed as an effort to save white lives– and not a crusade for equality– was black participation accepted. Nevertheless, the Civil War did become a war for emancipation and political equality by 1865, a result purchased, in the words of W. E. B. Du Bois, by "the record of the Negro soldier as a fighter." Even the spilled blood of dead black men could do little, however, to alter the patterns of racial prejudice in the United States.

What was the overall result of the Civil War on popular thought? For most white Northerners, the end of the war meant the reconciliation of North and South under the Union banner. For white Southerners, defeat created a unity of purpose that

had been denied during the war. This unity translated into a resentment of Yankees and things Yankee– a resentment that continues today. For blacks, the war brought some limited political and economic gains, but failed to change the racial antipathy of whites in the North and South.

The Private Civil War might be called derivative by some, since Jimerson offers few new insights. In a larger sense, however, this work should be regarded as expansionistic, since the author has taken a subject and added to the extant body of knowledge about it. It is work that should be added to the reading lists of all introductory courses on the Civil War. The writer's style makes for easy reading, and a cheaper and glossier paperback volume would have wide popular appeal.

Florida Historical Society LEWIS N. WYNNE

Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925. By Cynthia Neverdon-Morton. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989. 272 pp. Acknowledgments, photographs, tables, notes, note on sources, index. $34.95.)

Black women in the United States, as Mary Church Terrell so succinctly put it, "had two heavy loads to carry through an unfriendly world, the burden of race as well as that of sex." Not only did black women have to deal with white racism, but they also had to cope with sexism from both black and white men. Nevertheless, the advancement of the race took precedence over gender, even though black women attempted to respond to both. Cynthia Neverdon-Morton examines black women's varied responses to sexism, racism, and black community needs.

Neverdon-Morton focuses on the educational opportunities available to black women in five communities– Hampton, Tuskegee, Atlanta, Nashville, and Baltimore– and surveys the extension services provided by Hampton Institute, Atlanta University, Fisk University, Tuskegee Institute, and Morgan State College. Many women trained at these institutions of higher learning became social activists and led various movements to improve living conditions in the South. Through teaching and social services, these black middle class women gallantly tried to

uplift the race. They attended annual conferences held at Tuskegee, Hampton, and Atlanta where they discussed the problems of health, family, poverty, education, and racism, and searched for solutions. They often discovered many of the problems that they considered unique to their areas were actually common ones. Black women created clubs and organizations through which they established programs to educate the masses and to feed and house the poor. Janie Porter Barrett, Amelia Perry Pride, Margaret Murray Washington, and Lugenia Burns Hope were among the more prominent women who played important roles in promoting self-help programs and social services in their communities.

In 1896, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs of America became "the first cohesive national network of black women" (p, 193). Although still concerned about local and state problems, black women now directly confronted national issues. In an effort to promote racial understanding and cooperation, black women sought to work with whites to achieve common goals. Attempts to cooperate with the National American Woman Suffrage Association to secure the vote and the Women's Christian Temperance Union to combat the reputed evils of liquor proved frustrating, and black women were never more than on the "fringes of the national movement" (p. 204). Relations were little better with the Young Women's Christian Association as racial barriers were installed and separate branches created.

Southern black women were also significant in the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League. They served as organizers and activists, raised funds, and established local branches. Black women had been doing for years what the Urban League and the NAACP were attempting to do on a national level. The two organizations, however, attracted white support, and their decision-making bodies were top-heavy with black and white men and white women. Black women remained the principal workers on the local level. Neverdon-Morton claims that without the involvement of black women, the gains of these organizations would not have been as great.

Southern black women between 1895-1925 accomplished much in their efforts to advance the race. They identified problems affecting the black community and found a way to work

within the system to bring about changes. Neverdon-Morton has added a wealth of information concerning the role of black women during a period of accommodation in the South. How the masses responded to them would have made this a more complete study.

Florida State University MAXINE D. JONES

The Party of Reform: Democrats in the Progressive Era. By David Sarasohn. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1989. xvii, 265 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, notes, bibliographical essay, index. $30.00.)

Common historical wisdom has long assumed that the Democratic party during the Progressive Era was home to racism and reaction, that the heart of reform activism would be found among the Republican insurgents, and that Woodrow Wilson had to drag the Democrats along in order to secure legislative approval of his New Freedom. David Sarasohn challenges this view, and does so quite successfully. Those of us who teach and write about the Progressive Era will have to rethink some long-held assumptions after reading this provocative book.

Sarasohn argues that between 1896, the year of William Jennings Bryan's first campaign, and 1912, the election of Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic party, at both the congressional and state levels, committed itself to a broad range of economic and social reforms. While it is true that the southern states remained wedded to racist policies, this did not prevent them from endorsing antitrust laws, tariff reduction, banking reform, and other progressive measures. Sarasohn does not excuse the racism; his argument is that racism did not preclude reform in other areas.

What made the Democratic party so reform-minded? Sarasohn suggests three things: Bryan; reform-minded newspapers, such as Pulitzer's *New York World;* and influential individuals, such as Louis Brandeis. These centers of influence did not always agree. The *World* and Pulitzer, for example, detested Bryan while supporting his program. Between 1896 and 1912, however, these factors moved the Democrats clearly leftward,

and in comparison to the Republicans, made it clearly the party of reform.

To me, the most fascinating parts of this book dealt with Theodore Roosevelt and the insurgent bloc headed by Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin. During most of TR's tenure in office, he received at best lukewarm support from congressional Republicans, and some of his most progressive proposals, such as railroad regulation, passed only because of Democratic support. In fact, a number of congressional Democrats ran for office on the claim that Roosevelt needed Democratic support.

The story of LaFollette and the insurgents is even more surprising, because for all their commitment to reform, they remained tightly wedded to the Republican party. Although at times they had a chance to secure particular legislation if they would only cooperate with the Democrats, they refused to do so. Thus, in 1913 when Wilson led the Democrats in reduction of the tariff, a measure the insurgents had been pushing for several years, nearly all of them voted against the Underwood schedule because they could not bring themselves to endorse a Democratic bill. LaFollette himself, when faced with some Democrat-sponsored legislation that he had long wanted, could only bring himself to abstain from the vote.

Sarasohn also makes a convincing case that even if the GOP had not split in 1912, Wilson could have defeated either Roosevelt, or William Howard Taft running alone. Although between them they polled 7,700,000 votes, Sarasohn believes neither one would have won that many alone. They each "maximized the 'Republican' vote. Each won votes the other would have lost to Wilson" (p. 151).

Finally, Sarasohn clearly demonstrates that Wilson did not lead the Democrats to reform; they were already there, and in some instances far ahead of him. His initial proposal for banking reform, for example, was extremely conservative, a rehash of the banker-sponsored Aldrich plan. Bryan, McAdoo, and Brandeis convinced him that he would have to endorse the far more radical measure supported by the party, a government-owned and controlled central banking system.

All in all, this is a fine and well-written book, and even if one does not agree with all its points, one has to rethink some long-held assumptions. I cannot think of higher praise.

Virginia Commonwealth University MELVIN I. UROFSKY

Belk: A Century of Retail Leadership. By Howard E. Covington, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. xii, 308 pp. Preface, photographs, index. $12.95.)

Howard E. Covington, Jr., begins his account of the Belk network of department stores with a description of the opening of Belk's South Park store in Charlotte, North Carolina, on September 21, 1986. Doormen in tuxedos greeted richly dressed guests as they stepped onto a red carpet leading to the store's entrance. Inside were labels from Fendi, Ralph Lauren, Calvin Klein, and other fashion designers, while Oscar de la Renta accompanied Tom Belk. The symbolism seems to be that price is equated to beauty, but Covington does use this description to show how Belk was responding to changes in modern market conditions in the way that it responded to conditions in the 1960s when John and Tom Belk first established stores in the developing suburbs.

On a more historical theme, Covington traces the history of the Belk operations starting with William Henry Belk's "New York Racket" store in Monroe, North Carolina, in 1888. Billed as the "Cheapest Store on Earth," Belk sold basic staples of bolts of cloth, shoes, men's work clothes, and a few specialty items to North Carolina farm families. Belk operated a "one price" store with cash sales that was at a variance with the multi-pricing credit policies common in the South in the late nineteenth century. Farmers frequently had to buy on credit, but the factory workers of the developing textile mills had regular incomes and could take advantage of Belk's approach. During the 1890s, Belk was establishing other stores in a joint-ownership arrangement with partners in other Carolina towns while company headquarters moved to Charlotte. Gastonia, North Carolina, had a Kindley-Belk Co., while Greensboro had Harry-Belk Brothers Co. By 1928, the Belk empire consisted of forty-two stores in three states. Belk did not come to Florida until 1952 when the Belk-Lindsey store opened in St. Petersburg. In 1956, Belk purchased Efird department stores, and by the late 1960s, it was the South's largest mercantile business.

There is considerable information on the Belk family, particularly their philanthropic activities. The Belks have supported Davidson College, Queens College, and more recently the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Although the Belks are Presbyterians, the J. M. Belk Fund has helped to build more

than 150 churches and homes for ministers of different denominations in seven states. Covington mentions that John Belk was a charter member of the Committee of One Hundred when it was formed after the Scopes trial in 1926. The intolerance of the group caused may Presbyterian members to withdraw, but not Belk. Covington does not tell us what was so distasteful to Belk– Catholicism, anti-prohibition?– about Al Smith's nomination at the Democratic convention that Belk attended in 1928.

All in all, *Belk: A Century of Retail Leadership* is an interesting book about Belk stores and the Belk family, but it does not appear to have any particular relevance to Florida except that Belk stores are found in the Sunshine State.

Florida State University EDWARD F. KEUCHEL

The New Deal in the Urban South. By Douglas L. Smith. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. 287 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

From extensive research in primary sources, Douglas Smith has fashioned this account of the impact of the New Deal on several aspects of four cities of the Southeast: Atlanta, New Orleans, Birmingham, and Memphis. Chosen because they were the four largest southeastern cities of the thirties decade, these areas provide some limited diversity of response to different aspects of the New Deal.

This book, which is essentially a revision of Smith's 1978 dissertation at the University of Southern Mississippi, begins with the status of the cities in the twenties and in the early stages of depression, then examines topically the impact of the New Deal through the NRA, emergency relief, the WPA, major public works programs (including housing projects), the development of public welfare programs, the efforts of organized labor, the impact of the New Deal cultural programs, and the status of blacks.

Smith's early chapters are the familiar story of the economic dislocation that came in the early thirties with mounting unemployment. He presents the story of developing voluntary responses to the circumstances as if most of these ideas were original to the four cities, rather than a part of a pattern all over

the nation that was fostered and encouraged by the Hoover administration. In the process, he shows how inadequate was the cities' ability to cope with the problems.

He then shows in detail the efforts to circumvent the NRA codes and demonstrates how little impact that feckless program had on the overall economy. Among his best work is the story of urban transient relief, a more clearly urban aspect of the New Deal and one that has received relatively little attention. There are detailed examples of the efforts of FERA and WPA to develop relief and then the account of how this, through the Social Security Act, led to the development of welfare programs in cities that had no such programs prior to the New Deal. Only Birmingham had had an earlier, brief program to coordinate welfare efforts. Smith details how the urban programs were developed, following a pattern throughout much of the South.

Notable among the lasting impact that Smith details is the construction of urban housing units in the four cities, including the role of Atlantan Charles R. Palmer on public housing in the region and the nation. The efforts of various agencies to engender culture created an important beginning for appreciation of art, orchestras, and drama in the cities and surrounding areas.

Throughout the book, Smith shows a talent for linking national archive sources to the local documents he has carefully mined. He seems to have used every relevant dissertation or thesis. The entire work would have benefited from a brief summary chapter. When presenting statistics from the four cities, they should have been in forms for easier comparison rather than indicating data in percentages from one city and numbers from another.

Much of the book is devoted to presenting evidence of developments in the four cities that are part of the well-known story of the impact of the New Deal on various southern states. The cities were not greatly transformed by the New Deal, but reacted conservatively toward the efforts for change contained in New Deal programs. The value of the book, then, is that it provides details and comparisons among these four cities and shows that in the 1930s the urban South was not much different from the rest of the South, which is what David Goldfreld has asserted in a quote mentioned in Smith's preface.

Winthrop College THOMAS S. MORGAN

The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History. By David H. Bennett. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. x, 509 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, notes, index. $29.95.)

Throughout the course of American history, some people have sought political power and influence by playing on the fears of their fellow citizens. Always on the far right end of the political spectrum, these doomsayers have traditionally viewed themselves as super-patriots protecting society from "un-American" people and ideas. David H. Bennett presents a stimulating overview of some of these leaders and the right-wing organizations they created in *The Party of Fear*.

Until the middle of the twentieth century, these parties were usually nativistic, targeting immigrants who, the fearmongers believed, would not assimilate readily into American society. An influx of foreigners– many of whom were non-Protestants who did not speak English– would, they charged, change America forever. These newcomers would take jobs away from American natives, cause social problems due to their low standard of living, and, if unchecked, gain enormous clout by selling their votes to corrupt politicians. In short, "immigrants were a repository of social chaos, a sinister threat to economic well-being, a cancer in the body politic" (p. 85). The solution to this problem was, of course, to restrict the flow of these un-American immigrants.

Bennett, professor of history at Syracuse University, surveys such nativistic organizations as the American or Know Nothing party and the Ku Klux Klan. The effectiveness of these groups usually reflected political, social, and economic conditions in the country. Thus, anti-immigrant activity rose during the industrial revolution of the late nineteenth century when foreigners were accepting factory jobs at low wages, and again in the 1920s in the wake of World War I when the United States had fought foreign powers that were threats to democracy and capitalism– the twin foundation stones upon which the American nation is built. Likewise, nativism waned when foreigners appeared to be less of a threat to American society.

Moreover, the focus of right-wing political movements has shifted in recent years from attacking foreigners who threaten America to assailing Americans who the merchants of fear believe could destroy the United States from within. Thus, Joseph

McCarthy, grandson of a Catholic immigrant, was not a nativist; he exploited Americans' fears by hunting domestic communists. Such later far-right political and religious leaders as George Wallace and Jerry Falwell also targeted certain Americans– not foreigners– as threats to the American way of life. Those current leaders and organizations that are nativistic, such as Lyndon LaRouche and the John Birch Society, have almost no following and are merely "working on the frayed edges of a lunatic fringe" (p. 346).

The Party of Fear is an important book tying together far-right political organizations that have existed from the beginning of American society to the present. The book is meticulously researched and is written in an engaging and highly readable style. Beautifully designed, the volume is remarkably free of typographical mistakes, although a few minor errors of fact slipped through the editing process. For instance, Joseph Stalin's death is misdated as 1952 instead of 1953 (p. 315); former Klan leader David Duke is referred to as "Dukes" in the text (p. 347) and in the index (p. 496); and former Republican Congressman Paul McCloskey, Jr., is labeled a Democrat (p. 404).

Additionally, one could legitimately quarrel with Bennett's flat statement that "nativist hatred passed into [American] history in the decades preceeding 1950" (p. 389). Still, this is a significant work and one that is highly recommended for those who would, for any of a variety of reasons, wish to learn more about right-wing political movements in the United States.

Eastern New Mexico University-Clovis ROGER D. HARDAWAY

Parting The Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63. By Taylor Branch. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988. xii, 1,064 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, major works cited, index. $24.95.)

There have been very few books written that have captured the human drama, exhilaration, and volatility of the civil rights movement in the way *Parting the Waters* does. Focusing on the years from 1954 to 1963, Taylor Branch portrays the formative years of the civil rights revolution through the career of the

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and the individuals and events that swirled around him and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Branch calls his study "narrative biographical history" through which he attempts to reveal the character of American race relations and its transition during "the watershed postwar years" (p. xii).

Historians who are looking for insight into the origins of the civil rights movement and its social and political ramifications would do better to look elsewhere. In fact, much of what the author has to say about this era has been referred to in other biographical and historical studies. Where this book differs is in Branch's ability as a professional writer to place the reader back in time among the leaders and events of this historic period. Commencing with the religious division among black Baptists in Montgomery, Alabama, in the late nineteenth century and the career of King's religious predecessor, the Reverend Vernon Johns, Branch takes the reader through a kaleidoscopic and yet very personal portrait of this period. The author has portrayed King, President John F. Kennedy, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Roy Wilkins, Robert Moses, and many others in such vivid fashion that the reader comes to know them and to understand their responses to the developments of the era. Extensive research and interviewing, combined with a thorough grounding in the secondary literature, has allowed Branch to bring the roles of these people to life. Although the story of the Montgomery bus boycott and the Freedom Riders, for example, has been repeated on numerous occasions by others, Branch has captured the intensity and dynamic quality of these events in ways that no one else has.

The portrait that Branch paints of President Kennedy is not a very appealing one, although growing evidence suggests it is a correct interpretation. What Branch reveals is a president who supports the concept of racial change but who is unwilling to jeopardize his political leadership or his re-election ambitions by taking any bold initiatives in the area of civil rights. Kennedy often appears indecisive and hesitant to act. For example, during the crisis at the University of Mississippi over the admissions of James Meredith, the president's efforts to seek a political solution that would satisfy both Governor Ross Barnett and southern Democrats, as well as civil rights activists, led to rampant violence on the campus. His brother and chief adviser,

Robert Kennedy, consistently tried to protect the president by mollifying both sides, often at the expense of the rights of black Southerners and of racial progress. Branch characterizes FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as an opponent of racial change who is able to impede racial progress because of the indecisiveness of the administration.

No individual or organization escapes Branch's frank assessment. We learn of the sharp cleavages within the civil rights movement and particularly of the repeated clashes between the NAACP and the SCLC as the latter threatens the supremacy of the former in racial affairs. We are also informed about the jealousies within SCLC and the various rivalries within the organization for power and access to Martin Luther King.

Although the book offers little that is historiographically significant, Branch does seem to question David Garrow's assessment of the communist influence in the SCLC. Where Garrow sees Stanley Levison and Jack O'Dell as dedicated communists who sought to use King and the civil rights movement for the party's benefit, Branch is not so sure. He suggests that the available evidence from the FBI and SCLC files reveals that Levison, in particular, was committed to King and racial reform in America and made no apparent effort to undermine the movement or turn the civil rights leader in the direction of communism.

Despite the length of this study, it makes for fascinating reading. Branch has written a terrific book that reawakens us to the importance of this era in the life of our republic and makes us appreciate the dedication, but also the humanity, of the men and women of the civil rights era.

University of Florida DAVID R. COLBURN

Diversities of Gifts: Field Studies in Southern Religion. Edited by Ruel W. Tyson, Jr., James L. Peacock, and Daniel W. Patterson. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988. 218 pp. Preface, conclusions, notes on contributors, index. $2 1.95.)

Is there a "solid South"? Is the Southerner an American? Is the distinctive feature of the South a monolithic Protestant fun-

damentalism? Can religion be understood through the use of traditional academic categories and normative intellectual inquiry? These are some of the questions the anthology under review confronts.

While most of these questions are familiar to historians, *Diversities of Gifts* is neither written by nor for professionals. The editors teach folklore, anthropology, and religious studies at the University of North Carolina, and the nine additional contributors were their graduate students. The articles derive from anthropoligical field work in North Carolina from the mid 1970s through the mid 1980s.

This sampling, as the editors appropriately call it, deals with small, independent, generally rural churches in which individuals emphasize spirituality and their personal experience. The one exception is an "Inner Light" church. There are three geographical areas under consideration– the coastal plain, piedmont, and mountains– with a mixed population of blacks, whites, Native Americans, and Japanese. Represented are Quakers, Sons of God, Primitive and Missionary Baptists, Holiness advocates, and Pentecostalists.

Decrying traditional categories and methodologies that do not attempt to appreciate, and, thus, do not understand these groups from their own perspective, these researchers stress that "gestures," oral and physical expressions, are worthy of study in their own right. Only by directly observing such things as personal testimony, oral traditions, church architecture, family relationships and reunions, gospel and sermon rhythms, patterns of service order, and even moments of silence can one begin to fathom the essence and variety of religious beliefs within the South.

There are strengths and weaknesses to this approach and to the underlying themes. Many of the groups included are often ignored, or their forms of expression explained away by traditional academic historians uncomfortable with highly emotional manifestations. While they are out of the mainstream, in aggregate they are a significant section of the population, and, even if they were not, the study of such groups can illustrate group and individual behavior, adjustment, and interaction. The authors also force the historian to recognize meaningful variations within the South, and influences and connections outside of the area that bring into question the regional school of thought.

On the other hand, the authors attempt to extrapolate major patterns from individual examples and limited fieldwork. Their generalizations may be correct, but the extremely sparse documentation and lack of a comparative framework does not invite confidence. Furthermore, there is a gnawing tension underlying the themes. The introduction and conclusions reject the imagery and influence of southern regionalism. Yet accommodation to the southern environment is a basic aspect of many of the articles, and similarities amongst the groups studied are highlighted in the conclusion. These similarities and the gestures are virtually caricatures of the negative images of the southern religious paradigm, with the important exception of racism. Thus, the issue raised in the volume's conclusions and by this review becomes one of emphasis; namely, are similarities, or variations more important? The obvious response is that both are significant. Nonetheless, in this reviewer's opinion, the editors protest too much. Their variations are interesting, but they offer more support than divergence from contemporary historiography.

Atlanta Metropolitan College MARK K. BAUMAN

New Directions in American Indian History. Edited by Colin G. Calloway. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. x, 262 pp. Introduction to the series, editor's preface, charts, graphs, notes, list of contributors, index. $29.50.)

This book is the first in a bibliographical series projected by the Newberry Library's D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian. The series will offer "comprehensive coverage" of recent publications in Indian history with alternating publication of topically organized bibliographical lists and edited volumes of essays that "will both review recent trends in historical scholarships and point to areas where further research needs to be done" (p. viii). *New Directions in American Indian History*, ably edited by Colin G. Calloway, falls into the latter category.

Part One, "Recent Trends," features six essays discussing current scholarship on quite different topics: quantitative

methods in Native American history, American Indian women, Métis history, history of the Southern Plains tribes, Indians and the law, and twentieth-century Indians. Part Two, "Emerging Fields," has three essays focusing on relatively undeveloped topics including language study as a tool in Indian history, economics and Indian history, and religious changes in native societies. By dealing primarily with works published since 1983, the essays in both parts provide up-to-date assessment of the most current scholarship. Authors include historians, anthropologists, legal specialists, sociologists, and tribal officials. Some are well-known scholars, others are not.

Like most edited collections, *New Directions* varies in quality and significance according to the particular essay. Some readers may question inclusion of Dennis F. K. Madill's discussion of the Métis (mixed-bloods in Canada and the northcentral United States), but the subject is appropriate because 1985 marks the centenary of the famous uprising of Louis Riel and his Métis followers in Saskatchewan. As Madill's essay makes clear, Métis scholarship has gone far beyond that rebellion. Otherwise, the essays in Part One require little explanation or justification. Especially useful, in the opinion of this reviewer, is Melissa L. Meyer's and Russell Thornton's "Indians and the Numbers Game: Quantitative Methods in Native American History," a succinct overview of this inceasingly important field that is appropriately qualified by warnings about the hazards of quantitative methodology. Likewise, George R. Grossman's "Indians and the Law" is the best update this side of a law school seminar on legal research and decisions pertaining to such things as land claims, Alaska natives, water rights, Indian civil rights, and the plenary power doctrine.

As for Part Two, readers will likely find Douglas R. Parks's essay on "The Importance of Language Study for the Writing of Plains Indian History" too specialized. The other essays, Ronald L. Trosper's "That Other Discipline: Economics and American Indian History," and Robert A. Brightman's "Toward a History of Indian Religion: Religious Changes in Native Societies," are of more general interest.

Obviously, some important topics are not included in this collection, and readers can only hope that future volumes will address such subjects as postremoval southern and eastern Indians, urban Indians, and changing Indian self-perceptions and

identities. It would have been helpful to tell readers what to expect. Nevertheless, scholars and others with a serious interest in the field will find *New Directions in American Indian History* a useful reference and a promising start for an important new series.

University of Tennessee JOHN R. FINGER

Sovereignty and Liberty: Constitutional Discourse in American Culture. By Michael Kammen. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989. xiv, 231 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, index. $25.00.)

Sovereignty and Liberty is a collection of seven essays originally presented by Michael Kammen as seminar papers and public talks during the recent Bicentennial of the Constitution. The perennial tension in American history between sovereignty and liberty gives thematic unity to these wide-ranging essays that include a discussion of the character of popular as well as state sovereignty; the manifold notions of personal liberty and their relationship to an extratextual right to privacy; the role of public opinion in the interpretation of the Constitution by judges; the evolutionary development of the concept of a living constitution; and the hotly contested question of whether the framers' original intentions should limit judicial authority. Kammen argues that on each of these issues our constitutional history reveals a capacity to reinterpret the document while maintaining the delicate balance between sovereign authority and individual liberty. Through that process of reinterpretation, cultural values have informed and have in turn been informed by a genuinely American scheme of constitutionalism.

The two best essays deal with themes central to the American constitutional experience. The first is Kammen's treatment of the states' rights debate between World War I and World War II. States' rights sentiment reemerged during the interwar period in response to the "provocatively nationalizing tendencies of . . . Supreme Court decisions" up through 1920, the persistence of the states' rights tradition in the South, the contradictory forces of localism and nationalism within the Progres-

sive movement, wartime mobilization between 1917-1918, and the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919. Enthusiasm for this shibboleth of American constitutional thought waned only after the Supreme Court, in the constitutional revolution of 1937, endorsed the strongly nationalistic economic programs of the New Deal. Still, Kammen correctly observes that states' rights rhetoric persists even today because, quoting from a prominent legal scholar of the 1920s, the doctrine "is a nomad . . . dwelling wherever toes are trod upon . . . by the exercise of federal power" (p. 188).

The essay on original intention is equally significant. Kammen makes the telling point that debate over respect for the framers' intention is as old as the republic itself. The history of the founding era, moreover, reveals that such key terms as "sovereignty, popular sovereignty, federal, national, equality, republican, consolidation, and confederation" were "not immutable" (p. 209). The framers had differences among themselves about the meaning of these terms, and present-day scholars who seek to find unity where there was diversity will sink into "a textual quagmire" (p. 209). By attaching so much importance to the doctrine of original intention, Kammen concludes, present-day conservatives have missed the essential genius of the document– its capacity to redefine itself in response to new cultural patterns.

Most constitutional historians have adopted a decidedly political and legal perspective. Kammen, however, has profitably marched to the beat of a different drummer. He blends a critical reading of the constitutional themes manifested in material culture (painting, sculpture, and such) with a strong dose of intellectual history to reveal a distinctly American culture of constitutionalism. No scholar has done more than Kammen to elucidate this dimension of American history, and *Sovereignty and Liberty* adds to an already lustrous record.

University of Florida KERMIT L. HALL

BOOK NOTES

On July 24, 1715, eleven Spanish ships were sunk by a hurricane on the southeast coast of Florida. Attempts to salvage their cargos– gold, silver, and New World commodities– began almost immediately and resulted in a camp being established on the mainland adjacent to the wrecks. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, treasure salvers working under the auspices of the Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management (now Historic Resources) recovered some of the cargo. Included in the state's share of the recovered cargo were 1,401 gold doubloons minted in Lima, Cuzco, Mexico City, and Bogota. Alan K. Craig's monograph, *Gold Coins of the 1715 Spanish Plate Fleet: A Numismatic Study of the State of Florida Collection,* is a scholarly study of these coins and what they tell about their history. Published in 1988 as no. 4 in the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research's *Florida Archaeology* series, Professor Craig's study is an interesting account that provides the non-specialist as well as the professional numismatist with insights into Latin American and Florida history. Of special note are the twelve color photographs by Roy Lett. [Reviewed by Jerald T. Milanich, Florida Museum of Natural History.]

Pensacola, Florida's First Place City is a pictorial history of this historic community established at the end of the seventeenth century. An earlier colonizing effort under the leadership of Tristan de Luna in 1559 was not permanent. Pensacola has played an important military role from its very beginnings, and one of the largest naval bases in the world is located there. Naval aviation had its beginnings in Pensacola. Several different flags have flown over the city, and some of the most important personalities in our nation's history have been associated with the community. One was Andrew Jackson who arrived in 1821, along with his wife Rachel, to supervise the transfer of Florida. George Walton, Jr., Richard Keith Call, and Henry M. Brackenridge– all with Pensacola connections– played major political roles in territorial Florida. Other Pensacolians who are highlighted in this volume and who played significant roles in the history

of Florida were Stephen R. Mallory, United States Senator from Florida and secretary of the Navy in the Confederate Cabinet; Edward A. Perry, brigadier general for the Confederacy and governor of Florida from 1885-1889; P. K. Yonge, who was for many years chairman of the State Board of Control, the governing body for the State University System; Judge E. Dixie Biggs, attorney and president of the Florida State Bar Association; Occie Clubbs, founding member of the Pensacola Historical Society and an important local historian; and Modeste Hargis, the first licensed female pharmacist in the state of Florida. With one of the finest ports on the Gulf of Mexico, Pensacola has always been an important shipping center. Lumbering, fishing, and the military have provided a strong economic base for the area. The community has made a major effort to preserve its significant public and private buildings, squares, cemeteries, and other historic sites. Its preservation program is one of the strongest in the state and serves as a model for other communities. The University of West Florida (one of the nine state universities) and the Pensacola Junior College have made Pensacola a major educational center. Tourism has also had an impact on the economy. All of this history– political, social, economic, educational, religious, and intellectual– have been described in a handsome volume. Jesse Earle Bowden, editor and vice president of the *Pensacola News-Journal*, provides the narrative. Mr. Bowden, who has been active in the Florida Historical Society and local historical and preservation organizations, is also the author of a West Florida memoir, *Always the River Flows.* Pensacola, *Florida's First Place City* includes more than 300 rare photographs taken from many local and state collections and archives. The photographs were compiled by G. Norman Simons and Sandra L. Johnson. Simons, until his death, was curator-director of the Pensacola Historical Museum and helped establish the T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Florida State Museum. Ms. Johnson is curator of the Pensacola Historical Museum and serves as coeditor and contributor to *Pensacola History Illustrated. Pensacola, Florida's First Place City* was published by the Donning Company, and it sells for $29.95. It may be ordered from the Pensacola Historical Society, Old Christ Church, 405 South Adams Street, Sevilla Square, Pensacola, FL 32501.

Jacksonville and Florida's First Coast is a coffee-table book describing the history of the Jacksonville area and the growth and development of the community in the twentieth century. It uses both narrative and pictures, many in color, to describe the growth. Jules L. Wagman, a journalist, editorial consultant, and founding editor of *Jacksonville Business Journal,* is the author. In addition to the history section, it also covers downtown redevelopment; business and industry; insurance and banking; health care; the port of Jacksonville and transportation; the Navy in Jacksonville; the arts; education; Jacksonville as a golf and tennis capital; sports, resorts, and recreation; and neighborhoods and the quality of life. Part two includes a short description of major corporations and businesses operating in the Jacksonville area. The business histories were written by Judy Moore. Melody Gilchrist contributed to the interviewing and writing of the corporate profiles. Wagman also describes the activities in other First Coast communities: Fernandina, Orange Park, and Ponte Vedra. The business history section was produced in cooperation with the Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce. *Jacksonville and Florida's First Coast* was published by Windsor Publications, North Ridge, CA; it sells for $34.95.

In 1976, Hampton Dunn, president of the Florida Historical Society, was "drafted" to write a history of Citrus County. He was born in Floral City, in Citrus County, and a photograph of young Dunn is reproduced on page 3 of *Back Home: A History of Citrus County, Florida.* Publication was sponsored by the Citrus County Bicentennial Steering Committee. Researching public and private records, manuscripts, newspapers, secondary works, and talking to dozens of people– young and old, white and black– who had connections with the county, Dunn describes its history from prehistoric times to the present. White settlers began moving into the area after Florida became an American territory, many during the 1830s. The Indian wars and the Civil War and Reconstruction had an impact on Citrus County's growth and development. By 1870, the population of the area that is now Citrus County was 2,098. In the next decade, the county experienced a 70 percent growth increase, and several new communities were settled– Hernando and Arlington in 1881, Floral City in 1883, Mannfield in 1884, and Fairmount and Orleans in 1885. Citrus County was created by the legisla-

ture June 2, 1887, along with Pasco County, out of Hernando County. Mannfield became the temporary county seat, but in 1891, it was moved to Inverness. Citrus, phosphate, cattle, commercial and sports fishing, and agriculture provide a strong economic foundation for the county's prosperity. Several of the state's political and economic leaders were born and grew up in the county, and one of its best-known celebrities is Frances Langford, the well-known radio and movie personality. Born in Hernando in 1914, she grew up in Lakeland. Many historic photographs of people and places in the county are included in the volume. *Back Home* may be ordered from the Citrus County Historical Society Museum, Old Courthouse, Inverness, FL 32650, and the price is $35.00.

Highway to Success: The Story of the Peninsula Motor Club, 1938-1988 is also by Hampton Dunn who, since 1959, has been an executive in the Peninsula Motor Club. It is now an affiliate of the American Automobile Association. Dunn continues as a consultant since his retirement. On December 15, 1938, during the Depression era, the Tampa Motor Club, the forerunner of the Peninsula Motor Club, was founded. There were only ninety-seven members; in fifty years the membership has increased to more than 1,200,000. Its first offices were in the basement of the old Chamber of Commerce building. That situation has also changed. The Club has a large office and branch offices in twenty-six localities from Pensacola to Naples. The Club has become the fourth largest AAA club in the country. Over its half century, it has fought for traffic safety, improved highways, and against toll roads and speed traps. The Club operates a large travel agency and insurance bureau, and it sells luggage and tickets to many public attractions at reduced prices. It also has been active in the campaign to keep drunken drivers off the road. Mr. Dunn has included many photographs– black and white and colored– that add to the interest and value of this volume. It was published by the Donning Company, Norfolk/Virginia Beach; it sells for $29.95.

The Florida Almanac: 1990-1991 Edition is a comprehensive guide, reference manual, atlas, directory, and history book. It was edited by Del Marth and Martha J. Marth, and was published by Pelican Publishing Company, 1101 Monroe Street (P. O.

Box 189), Gretna, LA 70053. *The Almanac* provides a wide variety of information from *A* (archaeology, airports, auditoriums and arenas, and agriculture) to *Z* (zip codes). In between is information on wildlife, crime, education, government, elections, population, vital statistics, sports, and space exploration. There is information on drivers' licensing and restrictions, admission requirements for public and private universities and community colleges, and data on climate and weather. Included also are lists of forts and battlefields in Florida, state parks (with information on fees and regulations), major attractions, museums and art centers, symphonies and orchestras, Miss Florida winners, daily and weekly newspapers, document libraries, legal holidays, Medal of Honor winners, military cemeteries, major stadium and football bowls, names and addresses of United States Senators and Congressmen, state agencies, and toll-free numbers. There is also a list of fiction and non-fiction books about Florida. *Florida* Almanac sells for $11.95.

1989 FIU/Florida Poll was compiled by J. Arthur Heise, Hugh Gladwin, and Douglas McLaughen for the Institute for Public Opinion Research, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, Florida International University. It was published by Florida International University Press. The aim of the poll was to improve public dialogue on various issues facing the state by assessing public opinion on these important matters. Covered were the quality of life; taxes; satisfaction with schools, police, and other governmental services; the future of the state's economy; and the place of morality and religion in the life of Florida citizens. The interviews were conducted over a six-week period, from August 28 to October 8, 1988. All were conducted at the Institute for Public Opinion Research Lab at the North Miami campus of Florida International University. The interviewers were specially trained, and all were bilingual speakers of English and Spanish. A total of 1,201 interviews were completed with males and females from the ages of eighteen to over sixty-five. White, black, and other races and those of Hispanic origin were included. The *1989 FIU/Florida Poll* sells for $24.95.

Florida's Historic Cemeteries, A Preservation Handbook was compiled by Sharyn Thompson for the Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board. Its purpose is to assist individuals and organiza-

tions concerned with identifying and preserving historic cemeteries. There is a public awareness that cemeteries are a valuable part of our heritage and that they must be preserved. Many historic burying grounds in Florida have been destroyed or have disappeared because the graves were unmarked and the cemeteries were not cared for. Many others are now being threatened by natural and man-made factors. The handbook suggests guidelines and methods for identification, survey, and documentation of historic cemeteries, and discusses preservation techniques that can be employed to stop or retard their deterioration. Information on the Florida Master Site File and the National Register is incorporated. The Florida Statutes relating to cemetery protection and a selected bibliography are also included. The handbook is not a guide to the state's historic cemeteries, nor does it describe prehistoric burials that are regarded as archaeological sites. *Florida's Historic Cemeteries* may be ordered from the Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board, 329 North Meridian Street, Tallahassee, FL 32301; the cost is $7.50.

Spessard Stone of Wauchula has issued a revised and enlarged hardbound edition of his family history, *John and William, Sons of Robert Hendry*. Stone's thoroughly researched volume offers family records, genealogical charts, and– importantly for those interested in Florida history– insightful narratives of the lives and pioneer experiences of many of the subjects of his inquiry. The work comprises almost three hundred pages of nineteenth-century south Florida pioneers. *John and William, Sons of Robert Hendry* was published by Genie Plus of Bradenton. It may be obtained for $65, plus $2.50 postage and handling, from Sar Nell Gran, 2307 Gorham Avenue, Fort Myers, FL 33907. [Reviewed by Canter Brown, Jr., University of Florida.]

Pineapple Press of Sarasota, Florida, has reprinted in one volume two of Patrick Smith's novels: *The River is Home* and *Angel City*. *The River is Home* was Smith's first novel. It is the story of a Mississippi Delta family's struggle to cope with changes in their rural environment. *Angel City* follows the course of a West Virginia family who moved to Florida and lived in a migrant labor camp. CBS produced a film for television based on *Angel City*. The *Patrick Smith Reader* may be ordered from the Press, P. O. Drawer 16008, Sarasota, FL 34239; the price is $17.95.

Tales of Old Florida is a collection of original articles and stories that were first published in newspapers and magazines in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Included is a description of a St. Augustine lawn tennis tournament in 1890, one on crossing the Everglades in a power boat in 1907, and another on cruising along the Gulf coast in 1907. Also included is a depiction of sports played in Florida in 1886, truck farming in 1909, and tarpon fishing in 1891. Most of the articles relate to hunting, fishing, boating, sailing, and other sports. They are illustrated with drawings, photographs, and engravings. Edited by Frank Oppel and Tony Meisel, *Tales of Old Florida* was published by Castle, a division of Booksales, Inc., 110 Enterprise Avenue, Secaucus, NJ 07094.

The Florida State University Press has published a paperback reprint of *The Life and Travels of John Bartram from Lake Ontario to the River St. John* by Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley. The volume was first published in 1982, and it was reviewed in the July *1982* issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, pp. 82-85. The paperback edition sells for $28.50.

The Bureau of Florida Folklife Programs has published a revised edition of its *Florida Folklife Directory*, volume two. It complements volume one of the Directory which lists resource institutions and collections in Florida. The entries in volume two list people in the state who may serve as resources for folklife studies or projects: artists, interpreters, and scholars. Each entry provides a brief description of the individual's involvement in Florida folk culture. This information is intended to help anyone planning festivals, seminars, workshops, or other projects that recognize Florida's folk culture. The *Directory* was compiled by Barbara Beauchamp and Patricia Stafford. For information, write the Division of Historical Resources, Bureau of Florida Folklife Programs, P. O. Box 265, White Springs, FL 32096.

Florida County Maps and Recreation Guide contains a map of each of Florida's sixty-seven counties, plus additional information about each county. The county seat is named, together with state and national forests, state parks and recreational areas, wildlife preserves, lookout towers, and historical sites. Order

from the publisher: Bureau of Maps, Box 5317, Tallahassee, FL 32314; the price is $11.95.

The Confederate Privateers is a reprint of a study by the late William Morrison Robinson, Jr., first published in 1928. There was considerable naval and blockading activity off the east and Gulf coasts of Florida during the war, and the history of the privateers who attempted to run the blockade are included in this volume. One incident, during the first year of war, involved the *Alvarado.* It had to be abandoned off the coast of Fernandina when it was threatened by the Jamestown, a sloop-of-war that had been blockading the mouth of the St. Marys River. Another Florida incident was the destruction of the Confederate schooner *Judah* at the Pensacola Navy Yard docks on September 14, 1861, by a boat expedition from the United States frigate *Colorado. The Confederate Privateers* has been reprinted by the University of South Carolina Press in its Classics and Maritime History Series edited by William N. Still, Jr. It sells for $24.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its eighty-eighth convention in Tampa, May 10, 11, and 12, 1990. The Florida Historical Confederation will hold its annual meeting and workshops at this time also. The convention hotel is the Busch Gardens Holiday Inn, 2701 East Fowler Avenue, Tampa (813-971-4710). Welcoming the delegates on Friday morning will be the mayor of Tampa; the chair of the Hillsborough County Commission; and James Judy, president of the Tampa Historical Society. Chairpersons and moderators for the planned sessions are Raymond Arsenault, USF-St. Petersburg; Pete Cowdrey, Museum of Florida History; Edward F. Keuchel, Florida State University; Glenda Alvin, St. Petersburg Junior College; Timothy Clemmons, AIA, Rowe, Holmes & Associates; James W. Covington, University of Tampa; Paul George, University of Miami; Mitchell Snay, Denison University; Gregory Padgett, Eckerd College; Joseph Cernik, Saint Leo College; David Shedden, The Poynter Institute for Media Studies; and Jackson Walker, Dade Battlefield Society. Presenting papers at the sessions are Pat Brewer, University of Georgia; Darden A. Pyron, Florida International University; Raymond Vickers, Florida State University; Frank Alduino, Anne Arundel Community College; Robert Snyder, University of South Florida; Jack E. Davis, Brandeis University; Melody Bailey, USF-St. Petersburg; Lawrence Cottrell, USF-St. Petersburg; Christian Warren, USF-St. Petersburg; Ron Haase, University of Florida; Steven Branch, University of South Florida; Lynn Ware, Winthrop College; Diana Jarvis Godwin, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board; William S. Coker, University of West Florida; Canter Brown, University of Florida; Janet S. Matthews, Sarasota Historical Society; Clifton Paisley, Florida State University; M. Edward Hughes, Tampa; Brian R. Rucker, Florida State University; Tracy J. Revels, Florida State University; Stephen Whitfield, Brandeis University; Jack McTague, Saint Leo College; James O. Horton, George Washington University and the Smithsonian

Institution; Peter Arnade, SUNY-Binghamton; William Dayton, Attorney; Leland Hawes, *Tampa Tribune;* Jim Clark, *Orlando Sentinel;* Eliot Klinberg, *Palm Beach Post;* Joan Morris, *Tallahassee Democrat;* James Michael Denham, Limestone College; David Coles, Florida Department of Archives and History; and Joe Knetsch, Department of Natural Resources.

The banquet will be held Friday evening at the Busch Gardens Holiday Inn. Stetson Kennedy will speak on "Palmetto Country: A Retrospective." The winners of the Rembert W. Patrick Book Prize, Charlton W. Tebeau Book Prize, Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History, the President's Prizes, and the American Association for State and Local History Awards will be presented.

The History Fair projects will be on exhibit throughout the conference in ballroom A and B, and prizes will be awarded on Friday afternoon at 4:30 p.m. The President's reception and concert will be held following the banquet. The annual J. Leitch Wright Memorial Run, Walk, Crawl will be held on Saturday morning. Thomas Graham is the run master. The Society's annual picnic will be held at University of Tampa campus at 1:15 p.m., Saturday, following the Society's annual business meeting and final sessions. There will be tours of the Museum of Science and Industry and the University of South Florida Library on Thursday afternoon. A tour of Ybor City, given by L. Glenn Westfall, is scheduled for Friday at 5:30 p.m., and a tour of the University of Tampa and Historic Plant Hotel will be available on Saturday afternoon. The board of directors will hold its business meeting at 2:00 p.m. on Thursday. James Judy is in charge of local arrangements.

Florida Historical Confederation

Registration for the Florida Historical Confederation meeting at the Busch Gardens Holiday Inn, Thursday, May 10, 1990, begins at 8:00 a.m. in the hotel alcove. The Confederation has scheduled three panels on that day. Presenting papers or serving as moderators are Nick Wynne, Florida Historical Society; Ronald Cooper, Florida Endowment for the Humanities; Michael Brothers, Museum of Florida History; Ellen Babb, Heritage Park; Gail Conner, Museum of Florida History; John Abendroth, MOSI; Paul E. Camp, University of South Florida; Robert Taylor, Lightner Museum; and David Brown, Dade City.

National Register of Historic Places

The Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources, reports the following Florida properties added to the National Register of Historic Places during the year 1989: Alachua County– University of Florida Campus Historic District, Evinston Community Store and Post Office, Pleasant Street Historic District, and Old WRUF Radio Station; Broward County– Joseph W. Young House; Charlotte County– Punta Gorda Fish Company Ice House; Columbia County– Fort White School Historic District; Dade County– Downtown Miami Multiple Resources, Entrance to Central Miami, and Venetian Causeway; Duval County– Avondale Historic District; Escambia County– Alger-Sullivan Lumber Company Residential Historic District; Highlands County– Multiple Resources of Sebring; Hillsborough County– Mediterranean Revival Style Buildings of Davis Island; Lee County– Lee County Court House and Buckingham School; Leon County– Tall Timbers Plantation, Covington House, and Los Robles Gate; Levy County– Cedar Keys Historic and Archaeological District; Liberty County– Otis Hare Archaeological Site; Palm Beach County– Old Lake Worth City Hall; Pinellas County– Pass-a-Grille Historic District; Polk County– Old Polk County Court House and C. L. Johnson House; St. Lucie County– St. Lucie Village Historic District; Sarasota County– Multiple Resources of Venice; Seminole County– Sanford Residential Historic District; Taylor County– Old Taylor County Jail and Old Perry Post Office; Volusia County– New Smyrna Woman's Club, Historic Winter Residences of Ormond Beach, and Old DeLand Memorial Hospital; and Washington County– South Third Street Historic District.

William and Sue Goza Collection

The William and Sue Goza Collection of Historical Newspapers has been presented to the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. The Collection, spanning almost 100 years from 1768-1865, includes over 900 newspapers from New York, Philadelphia, New England, and the South. The papers contain stories, correspondence, editorials, sketches, and other references about people and events in Florida. An authority who has examined the Collection notes its great value. "The papers covering the War of 1812 and the articles on Amelia

Island, as well as the Indian Wars, are exceptionally complete." The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History has a major collection of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Florida and southern newspapers. The William and Sue Goza Collection of Historical Newspapers is a valuable addition to the library and will be important for research scholars.

Margaret L. Chapman Memorial

The Margaret L. Chapman Photographic Preservation Room was dedicated in her memory at the University of South Florida Library. Ms. Chapman was, for many years, the executive secretary of the Florida Historical Society and librarian at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida before she was appointed director of Special Collections at the University of South Florida. She was the editor of the facsimile edition of *Florida Breezes: Or Florida New and Old*, by Ellen Call Long, which was reprinted in 1962 by the University of Florida Press in the Florida Facsimile and Reprint Series.

Awards

Florida Congressman Charles E. Bennett of Jacksonville received the annual D. B. McKay Award from the Tampa Historical Society, November 16, 1989. This state-wide award is presented to persons who have made "significant contributions to the cause of Florida history." Congressman Bennett is the author of several books on Florida history; the latest is *Twelve on the River St. Johns*, published by the University of Florida Press.

The Florida Folklife Council annually presents the Florida Folk Heritage Awards to outstanding folk artists and folk culture advocates. The recipients of the 1989 Heritage Awards were E. W. "Judge" Carswell of Chipley. His books and articles describe the folklife and folklore of northwest Florida, including his native Holmes County. Mr. Carswell helped found the Wausau Possum Festival and the Ponce de Leon Collard Festival. A second recipient was Nikitas Tsimouris of Tarpon Springs, who plays Greek folk tunes at community festivals. A third annual winner was Robert R. "Chubby" Wise from Glen St. Mary, who was recognized for his role in defining a distinctive bluegrass fiddle style. The award ceremonies were dedi-

cated to the memories of Zora Neale Hurston and Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. The Council invites nominations for the 1990 Florida Folk Heritage Awards. Nominees should be worthy of state recognition and relate directly to Florida folklife. Nominations should be directed to the Florida Folklife Council, Florida Folklife Programs, P. O. Box 265, White Springs, FL 32096.

Announcements and Activities

"The Richard Aloysus Twine: Photographer of Lincolnville, 1922-1927," is an exhibit of photographs taken by Twine, St. Augustine's first known black photographer. This exhibit opened at the St. Augustine Historical Society Library in February 1990 to commemorate Black History Month. The sixty-six pictures included are from a collection of glass plates that were found in a house in St. Augustine that was being demolished. Twine's photography studio was on Washington Street, a business area for the St. Augustine black community. Dr. Patricia C. Griffin and Diana S. Edwards of St. Augustine interviewed members of the local black community to secure information needed to identify and interpret Twine's pictures. The exhibit was supported by a grant from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities. It is available as a travelling exhibit to schools and organizations. Address inquiries to Page Edwards, director, St. Augustine Historical Society, 271 Charlotte Street, St. Augustine, FL 32084 (904-824-2872).

The Pensacola Historical Society celebrated its fifty-seventh anniversary at a dinner meeting, March 19, 1990, with John R. Thompson, publisher of *Pensacola Magazine* as guest speaker. The Society was founded February 14, 1933, and chartered one month later. The first meeting was in the Hotel San Carlos with H. Clay Armstrong presiding as president. The Society helped organize Pensacola's first festival, "The Festival of Five Flags," and the 1959 Florida Quadricentennial Celebration. It operates the Pensacola Historical Museum in Old Christ Church, and the society's library and archives will be available for research in the Beacon Building.

The Dade Battlefield Society, Inc., invites both memberships and participation in its various activities. The Society meets the first Tuesday of each month at 7:00 p.m. in the Community

Center at Dade Battlefield Park in Bushnell. The Society annually sponsors a reenactment of the Dade battle at the Dade Battlefield Park. For information on membership, write the Society, P. O. Box 309, Bushnell, FL 33513.

The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (SASESC) invites submissions for its annual competition. An award of $250 will be given for the best article on an eighteenth-century subject published in a scholarly journal, annual, or collection between September 1, 1989, and August 31, 1990, by a member of SASECS or a person living or working in the SASECS area (Florida is included). Authors may submit their work to Professor Vincent Carretta, Department of English, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742. Articles must be submitted in triplicate, post-marked by November 9, 1990.

The Travel to Collections Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities provides grants of $750 to assist American scholars to meet the costs of long-distance travel to research collections, archives collections, museums, and other repositories throughout the United States and the world. The next application deadline is July 15, 1990. Information is available by contacting the Travel to Collections Program, Division of Fellowships and Seminars, Room 316, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20506.

In honor of Professor Louis R. Harlan, the University of Maryland at College Park is presenting a conference titled "The Age of Booker T. Washington" on May 2-3, 1990. Professor Harlan will speak on "White Southerner as Historian of the Black Experience," with comments by John Hope Franklin, August Meier, and C. Vann Woodward. The other keynote address will be delivered by Professor Leon Litwack on "The Two Americas: Race Relations in the South in the Era of Booker T. Washington." The sessions, all open to the public, will be on the University of Maryland campus and at the National Archives, Washington, DC. For information on the conference and hotel accommodations, write Booker T. Washington Conference, Department of History, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742.

The University of Kentucky announces the Martin Luther King, Jr., Prize for research in African-American history. The prize of $500 will be awarded biennially for an article published in the preceeding two years. Scholarly articles in the field of African-American history, published in the calendar years 1989 and 1990, are eligible for the first award to be announced in February 1991. Submissions and nominations should be sent to the Martin Luther King, Jr., Prize Committee, Department of History, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY 40506. The deadline is December 31, 1990.

The Oral History Association will hold its 1991 annual meeting on October 10-13, 1991, at Snowbird, near Salt Lake City, Utah. Proposals for papers, panels, and speakers, particularly on such things as women, ethnic topics, and the region of the American West should be sent by December 1, 1990, to either of the program co-chairs: Jay M. Haymond, Utah State Historical Society, 300 Rio Grande, Salt Lake City, UT 84101, or Rebecca Sharpless, Institute for Oral History, B. U. Box 7271, Baylor University, Waco, TX 76798. The 1990 annual meeting of the association will be held November 8-11, 1990, in Cambridge, MA. For program information contact Richard C. Smith, OHA Executive Secretary, 1093 Boston Avenue, 720, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

The *Journal of Confederate History* invites the submission of articles, book reviews, and book length manuscripts on the Civil War for publication in the *Journal* or through the Guild Bindery Press. For information, write the Editorial Advisory Board, *Journal of Confederate History*, Box 2071, Lakeway Station, Paris, TN 38242.

A prize for the best new work by an American Indian writer has been established by the University of Nebraska Press. The award will be presented annually. The award-winning manuscript will be published as a book, and its author will receive an advance of $1,000. The deadline for submissions this year is July 1, 1990. For rules and entry forms, write American Indian Prose Award, University of Nebraska Press, 327 Nebraska Hall, Lincoln, NE 68588.

"The Interaction of Cultures in the Antebellum South" will be the topic of the Porter L. Fortune Chancellor's Symposium on Southern History to be held at the University of Mississippi, October 3-5, 1990. The meeting will examine how blacks influenced white culture, how whites influenced black culture, and the degree to which interaction was possible under slavery. Sessions will consider a number of topics including religion, the use of nature, architecture, work and economic attitudes, and music. For additional information, contact Ted Ownby, Department of History, University of Mississippi, University, MS 38677.

The Fellowship of Southern Writers was formed in 1988 by a group of Southerners to recognize distinction in southern letters and to encourage writing by young writers from the South. Awards will be given every two years. For additional information, write Sally Robinson, Arts and Education Council, Suite 201, 424 Torture Avenue, Chattanooga, TN 37403.

The Virginia Historical Society is sponsoring "New Directions in Virginia History," a conference designed to bring together historians, archivists, and teachers of all periods of the Commonwealth's history. It is scheduled for October 11-13, 1990. Five plenary sessions will consider Virginia history choronologically, and sessions will present specialized topics. During these sessions, leading historians will present papers and two panelists– one a historian and the other an archivist– will offer comment. Four teaching workshops will be included among the sessions. For information, write William B. Obrochta, Virginia Historical Society, P. O. Box 7311, Richmond, VA 23221.

Obituary

Clarissa Anderson Gibbs of St. Augustine died January 21, 1990. Mrs. Gibbs and her family have had a major impact on the history of St. Augustine since the mid 1880s. She was the daughter of Dr. Andrew Anderson, the friend and confidante of Henry M. Flagler. Her family home, Markland, on which construction began in 1839, is part of the Flagler College complex. Dr. Anderson was a benefactor of St. Augustine, St. Johns

County, and the University of Florida. Through her continued interest in St. Augustine, Mrs. Gibbs received, in January 1987, the Order of La Florida, the city's highest honor. Among the many philanthropies of Mrs. Gibbs and her family were the stone lions for the Bridge of Lions in St. Augustine and funds to beautify the ends of the bridge and to establish a park and harbors at the west end. She commissioned the writing and publication of *The Awakening of St. Augustine: The Anderson Family and the Oldest City, 1921-1924*, by Dr. Thomas Graham of Flagler College.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING

December 9, 1989

The mid-winter meeting of the officers and board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened at 10:00 a.m. in the Society's offices and library, University of South Florida, Tampa, December 9, 1989, by Hampton Dunn, president. Those attending included Kathleen H. Arsenault, J. Andrew Brian, William S. Coker, David R. Colburn, Rodney E. Dillon, J. Larry Durrence, Henry Green, Joe Knetsch, Marinus H. Latour, Stuart B. McIver, Raymond A. Mohl, Joan P. Morris, John W. Partin, Eugene W. Roach, Niles F. Schuh, Rebecca A. Smith, and executive director Lewis N. Wynne. Also present were Nancy Jacobs, Gary Mormino, and Allen Morris.

President Dunn noted that the Margaret Chapman Room in the Special Collections Department of the University of South Florida had been dedicated on December 7. The room will be used for photographic reproduction and care.

The minutes for the May 1989 board meeting and the business meeting, as published in the October 1989 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and the minutes for the September 1989 Executive Committee meeting, as mailed to Society directors, were approved.

Copies of the proposed budget for 1990 were distributed and reviewed. Mr. Durrence, chairman of the Finance Committee, reported that the Committee had met in September to begin planning the budget, and that the proposed budget is a result of committee review. During the ensuing discussion, it was noted that the budget is based on an anticipated increase in membership of 207 (10 percent) and the receipt of $9,000 from Vantage Travel for the spring 1990 tour to Portugal and Spain. Mr. Durrence observed that the Society will know in the first quarter if projected revenue from the tour will actually be realized so adjustments to expenditures can be made early in the fiscal year. Dr. Colburn asked that future budgets and monetary reports include references to the unrestricted funds. After

further discussion, the motion to approve the budget was tabled. A motion was approved that the Finance Committee meet at the end of the first quarter of 1990 to review the budget and adjust expenditures to fit actual income.

Mr. Brian noted that Eugene Lyon, Henry Green, and he had been asked to develop appropriate financial procedures and controls, and that Dr. Lyon had mailed the directors recommendations. Mr. Durrence stated that the recommendations had been utilized by the Finance Committee in the budget review, and that they have been referred to the Policies and Procedures Committee.

The debt to the University of South Florida was discussed. Mr. Brian and Dr. Colburn both noted that some past board members are uncertain there is a real debt, as at the time there was no written agreement concerning the payment of telephone bills. Dr. Wynne reported that the debt is for equipment, as well as telephone services, over a seven- or eight-year period, and that the telephone debt was discovered when the University's books were being audited. Prior to that time, the Society was unaware that telephone bills were the responsibility of the Society. Dr. Wynne reported that the Society is paying $500 monthly to reduce the debt, that the University has indicated it is legally unable to forgive the debt, and that Milton Jones, the Society's attorney, recommends that the Society repay the University. A motion was made that the Society work to get a line item into the next state legislative budget to forgive the debt. The motion was discussed and approved by voice, with one dissenting vote. The motion to approve the 1990 budget was reintroduced and approved.

The proposal that the Society deaccession the Audubon prints and the Bard painting was discussed. Mr. Dillon distributed a report prepared by the Library Assessment Committee recommending that they not be sold. Mr. Durrence outlined a proposal he had investigated that, if the prints and painting should be deaccessioned, they could be given to the Museum of Florida History in exchange for the state of Florida's forgiveness of the debt to the University of South Florida. A motion was made and approved that the board accept the Library Assessment Committee's recommendation that the prints and painting not be deaccessioned and that when funds become available the Society restore them. Mr. Dunn asked members of the Library

Assessment Committee to make suggestions for procedures for the loan and display of these objects.

Mr. Dillon noted that the Library Assessment Committee had reviewed the acquisitions procedures outlined in the Policies and Procedures handbook and found them to be a good basis on which to work, although probably needing some revisions. Dr. Wynne asked the committee to give particular attention to the collections procedures when the process of formalizing the handbook continues.

The meeting was briefly recessed for lunch, and resumed with the publications reports. In the absence of editor Samuel Proctor, Dr. Wynne distributed the *Florida Historical Quarterly* written report. Dr. Wynne announced that the most recent issue of the *Florida Historical Society Newsletter* was at the printer. The *Newsletter* has some format changes, due to the acquisition of a laser printer, and slightly larger type to make it easier to read.

Dr. Wynne reported on progress on *Florida Portrait* and referred board members to the information that had been mailed earlier. He observed that the Publications Committee had selected Pineapple Press to publish the book. He also noted that Tampa General Hospital will contribute $5,000 for its page in the sponsors section, that a sample chapter will be laid out by February, and that Pineapple Press is also preparing a dummy cover for use in advertising and public relations.

The retail price for *Florida Portrait* will be $29.95. The standard discount to book dealers is 40 percent; book sponsors will receive a 20 percent discount; and Pineapple Press and the Society will split the profits. Pineapple Press will fund a reprint with a 10 percent royalty for the Society.

Dr. Wynne suggested that the Society prepare a cookbook as an incentive for membership and fund raising. Society members would be encouraged to submit recipes, and the cookbook could be printed on demand using the laser printer, photocopier, and spiral binding. The idea was briefly discussed, and Dr. Wynne was asked to investigate his idea and to report on its feasibility to the directors.

Dr. Wynne reported that the membership continues to grow, and he urged the board to recruit new members. Mr. Durrence suggested that the Society promote gift memberships, and Dr. Colburn asked if local historical societies could help in recruitment. Dr. Wynne reminded the board that Stuart McIver is

writing a 3,000-4,000 word history of the Society for a membership brochure.

Mr. Brian informed the board on the Confederation program for May 1990. It will include sessions on volunteerism, the new state grants program for history museums, and other topics. He observed that some are questioning the Confederation's role in light of the overlapping and stronger roles the Museum of Florida History and the Florida Museums Association are taking in the state. Mr. Brian suggested that the Confederation's function might be better served as a standing committee within the Society structure. President Dunn will appoint a committee to meet with representatives of the Confederation board and consider future directions for the Confederation. Mr. Brian urged members to submit nominations for the Confederation awards program.

The effectiveness of the History Fair was discussed, and the following concerns were brought out: the History Fair needs a full-time coordinator, but funds are not currently available for such a position from either the Museum of Florida History or the Society; the History Fair has not generated income or new members; local school support varies; and the Florida Department of Education has expressed no interest in supporting the History Fair. A motion was made and seconded to end Society involvement in the History Fair after the 1989-1990 school year. An amendment was added to the motion to reconsider sponsoring the History Fair if the state of Florida or other funding sources provide support. The motion was approved by voice, with one dissenting vote.

Mr. Latour reported that Helen C. Ellerbe wants to make a gift of stock to the Society to establish a $500 annual award for high school essays in Florida history, beginning in May 1990. Her father, Frederick C. Cubberly, was president of the Society in 1932, and the award would be in his name. A motion was approved to create a committee to consider the proposal, meet with Mrs. Ellerbe, and develop procedures. Mr. Dunn appointed Kathleen Arsenault, Dr. Colburn, Mr. Latour, Dr. Wynne, and himself to the committee.

Dr. Wynne announced that the President's Prize has been renamed the LeRoy Collins Prize for graduate students and the Caroline Mays Brevard Prize for undergraduate students. Announcements and flyers have been distributed.

Mr. Dunn proposed that the Society sponsor a plaque award for local media. The Florida Press Association and the Florida Association of Broadcasters would provide publicity for the award. In the ensuing discussion, it was noted that the Society had presented awards in previous years, and that the Confederation awards could be given to journalists, although none are specifically for media only. A motion was passed approving the proposal.

On behalf of local Pensacola societies, Dr. Coker extended an invitation to the Society to meet in Pensacola in 1993, which will be the 300th anniversary of the founding of that city. A motion was approved to accept the invitation.

Preparations for the 1990 meeting in Tampa were discussed. Points mentioned included the following: Raymond Arsenault has arranged a tentative program that should be final by the end of January; to fit all of the speakers into the program, there will likely be concurrent sessions; the Confederation will meet on Thursday at the Tampa Museum of Science and Industry.

A motion was approved that the board begin its meeting at 2:00 p.m., Thursday, May 10, 1990. A motion was approved to increase registration for the annual meeting by $5.00.

Mr. Shuh announced that he had received two responses to the proposed bylaws changes that he had mailed to board members. One suggested that Article III, Section 7, be changed to "without advance approval from the president." The other suggested that Article II, section 6, be changed to "full term." A motion was approved to accept the bylaws changes including the two revisions. The proposed changes will be submitted to the full membership at the 1990 annual business meeting.

Mr. Dunn announced that he had appointed Stuart McIver, Joe Knetsch, Larry Durrence, Jean Roach, and Olive Peterson to the Nominating Committee. He urged members to submit names to committee members. Mr. McIver noted that the committee will submit a slate in March.

Mr. Durrence reported for the Policies and Procedures Committee that he had received twenty recommendations for revision, and he thanked the committee members for their efforts. A motion was passed to approve the manual with the changes.

Mr. Dunn remarked that he will prepare a written evaluation

of the executive director's performance for the May meeting. Members were asked to send comments in writing to Mr. Dunn.

The board discussed the idea of a planning retreat to consider policies and goals. Mr. Dunn will appoint a committee to draft some long-range goals and consider the future of the Society. Then, if deemed necessary, the board will follow with a retreat.

Dr. Coker announced that the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference has been set for October 3-5, 1991, at the Pensacola Hilton. The theme will be discovery and exploration on the Gulf coast. He invited the submission of papers.

Mr. McIver announced that the Historical Museum of Southern Florida has started a new magazine, *South Florida History Magazine,* and asked for articles relating to the history of south Florida.

Dr. Wynne announced that the joint meeting of the Florida Historical Society, Georgia Historical Society, and Alabama Historical Society has been set for October 4-6, 1990, at St. Augustine.

Dr. Green asked that the Society officially recognize the Mosaic project. A motion was approved to recognize Mosaic in the form of a resolution.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:50 p.m.

The Florida Historical Quarterly

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GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . .

1990		
May 10-12	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 88th MEETING	Tampa, FL
May 10	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Tampa, FL
Aug. 30-Sept. 3	Society of American Archivists	Seattle, WA
Sept. 5-8	American Association for State and Local History	Washington, DC
Oct. 17-21	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Charleston, SC
Oct. 31-Nov. 3	Southern Historical Association	New Orleans, LA
Nov. 2-4	Southern Jewish Historical Association	Jackson, MS
Nov. 8-11	Oral History Association	Cambridge, MA
Dec. 27-30	American Historical Association	New York, NY
1991		
Oct. 3-5	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola, FL

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TO

FROM

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $25; family membership is $30; library membership is $35; a contributing membership is $50 and above; and a corporate membership is $100. In addition, a student membership is $15, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, FL 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.